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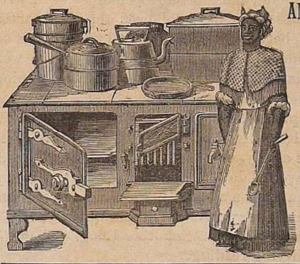

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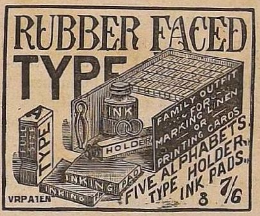

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NOTES.

It is sometimes said that no good ever comes of newspaper controversy. Generally, controversialists are more anxious to air their (often, only supposed) special knowledge, or to score a point off an adversary. We publish to-day a series of six letters addressed to the *Manchester Guardian* in August and September last, which reveal a gratifying experience of quite another kind to that just mentioned. The discussion was begun by Mr. John T. Petrocokino, one of India's friends living in Manchester, and had relation to the Famine Insurance Fund. Mr. Petrocokino concluded his first letter by saying: "I think there is no reason to doubt that the main object of the Famine Insurance Fund has been carried out well and satisfactorily, and with the sole object for which it was created." The converse of this proposition was put in letters which, with Mr. Petrocokino's, we commend to the perusal of our readers. Finally, after referring to the India Office respecting some of the assertions of his friendly antagonist, Mr. Petrocokino handsomely acknowledged that he had been wrongly informed by the India Office, that the accounts sent to him were incomplete (though they profess to be complete), and concludes as follows:—"I write this so that all those who have followed the little controversy last month between Mr. Digby and myself, will see that the Government figures from which I quoted were not correct, in that they did not account for everything. Mr. Digby was correct in his statements, and I thank him for having thus put materials into my hands which have enabled me at length to satisfy myself that the India Office has led me astray, and that the responsible Government of India have not dealt satisfactorily with the moneys which ought to have been applied to the Famine Insurance Fund." Some day we may quote all the curious and shifting official statements made respecting this Fund. They will afford most unedifying reading.

"I do not know," writes a well-informed correspondent, "whether you are aware that the Government of India are about to force a Cadastral Survey on those provinces of Bengal which are under the Permanent Settlement, to secure, as they allege, a Record of Rights. This is due to the initiative of Sir Stewart Bayley, and to find work for the establishments presided over by Sir E. Buck and Mr. Finucane. Both zemindars and ryots are totally opposed to it, as they know it is unnecessary and uncalled for, besides putting them to no end of expense. The Record of Rights between zemindar and ryot is already well defined, and all matters in dispute between them were settled for good, and all by the passing of the Tenancy Act five years ago. At the back of every receipt for payment of rent now given to the ryot by the zemindar, on a printed form, there is given a full, minute, and detailed account of the holding for which rent has been paid. Besides, should any uncertainty or dispute arise, either zemindar or ryot can go into court and claim that a cadastral survey be carried out to settle the matter in dispute. The Government say this cadastral survey will only cost five annas per bigha, to be borne equally between zemindar and ryot, while everyone knows that it will cost eight annas at the very least, to say nothing of the exactions of the subordinates of the cadastral survey, which will fall principally on the shoulders of the poor ryot. At the time of the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Bill there was much bad blood and embittered feelings between landlord and tenant. During the past five years this has all died down, and the best of relations now exist between them. If, now, this cadastral survey is taken in hand, all the old strained relations between zemindar and ryot will recommence, and the provinces under the Permanent Settlement will be once more plunged into litigation and discord. Who will benefit by this but the lawyers? What will the result be but that a prosperous population will be impoverished by prolonged litigation and the enactions of hordes of hungry underlings of the Survey parties? Already on one estate in Purneah an experimental cadastral survey for a Record of Rights has been commenced. And with what results but to turn that estate into a Pandemonium? Already nearly three hundred cases have been filed in Court by the dissatisfied ryots. One would think that Lord Lansdowne's Government had not already enough hornets' nests about their ears without wantonly raising a kind of agrarian war in the Lower Provinces and inciting to prolonged strife and litigation."

The demands upon our space are too great to allow of our publishing the correspondence, and the comments upon that correspondence, which have flown from the letter respecting distress in Madras which Mr. W. S. Caine addressed to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. We cannot give Mr. Caine's letters and speeches without according space to Lord Wenlock's rejoinder. For both sides of the dispute we have no room. It will suffice if we remark that, in our opinion, Mr. Caine was justified in the main strictures he passed upon Lord Wenlock. After the teachings of the Famine Commission had become transmuted into Government Orders, no man, woman, or child in India ought to be allowed to die of starvation. It is admitted that in one district four people died of starvation. That admission, according to experience gained in past famines, means that at least one hundred persons died of diseases directly induced by privation. If this is so, and the deduction is a safe one, then were there no grounds for Lord Wenlock's excited remarks at Perambore. The writer of "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* says that the strong language employed by the Governor of Madras is only the Anglo-Indian way of saying that a man is mistaken. That is a poor compliment to "the Anglo-Indian way".

Mr. Caine has been doing much to familiarise the Scottish people with, and interest them in, Indian affairs. In the early part of this month he made a most successful tour in Scotland. Indian Temperance was the main burden of his addresses, but opportunity was taken to preach Congress doctrines. Mr. Caine found everywhere intense interest manifested in all that he said, the audiences being greatly excited, at times, as his narration of Indian bureaucratic administration proceeded. He has done much to prepare the soil for the seed which, it may be hoped, will be scattered by Indian speakers all over the United Kingdom next year.

A correspondent, writing respecting the recent discussions as to the Pariahs in Madras and an article thereon in the *Times*, supposed to be from Sir W. W. Hunter's pen, remarks: "I have carefully read the article 'Indian Affairs' in the *Times* of the 13th July. It appears to be an attempt to cast upon certain classes of the Indian population the odium attaching to the existence of hopeless poverty, incipient starvation, and periodical famine among the peasantry of Madras; to excite against those classes the feelings of indignation naturally excited by a perusal of the memorial of the Missionary Committee; and to promote another Royal Commission of Enquiry. These are not new tactics. 'Divide and conquer' is the very old adage of despotism. The Government neglect of education; of their own laws, guaranteeing (on paper) absolute personal liberty; of the divine law, which ensures that an oppressed race increases, in spite of oppression, until its very numbers and the extent of their misery compels the redress from fear which compassion failed to secure: all this repeats itself in every chapter of human history. But you know as well as I do that it is not in sub-sectional departmental enquiries the remedy has to be found. English public opinion must compel Parliamentary attention to radical reforms, eliciting help from within, if India is to be helped. The Pariahs and their alleged slavery do not stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect. Government neglect and economic distress do. The cure must be found here."

"An Indian Civilian" has been allowed large space in the columns of the *Times* in which to express his grief and dismay that the average Englishman, whom he meets when at home on furlough, does not think so much of him as he ought. The unfortunate grumbler has received much mock sympathy and some reminders that he and his

fellows get as much consideration as the merits deserve. One of the complaints of the aggrieved civilian was that he became autocratic in all his thoughts and acts during his residence in India. The *Manchester Guardian* rather neatly reminds him that it is Anglo-Indians themselves who have said this. Our contemporary remarks: "Anglo-Indians at times take pains to show us that sympathies do not always broaden in India. It was after his Indian experience that Sir Henry Maine wrote his book on popular government, the book in which an average English audience at election time—say an audience of skilled artisans in Manchester or Oldham—was spoken of as a gathering of roughs and clowns. No able man has shown a stranger ignorance and impatience of popular feeling than the Maine of that and a score of similar passages. So much for the English impression that Anglo-Indians are anti-democratic. Maine, an Anglo-Indian in a thousand, seems bent on proving it."

The *Pall Mall Gazette* thus comments upon the new regulations for the Indian Civil Service Examination:—"The publication of the new scheme for the Indian Civil Service examinations has been followed by a lively discussion in India concerning the prospects of the Indians under the altered conditions. The raising of the age should, of course, be entirely in favour of native candidates. While the maximum age was nineteen, the native had practically no chance unless sent to England as a boy and educated in every respect as an English lad. When the maximum is twenty-three, he can complete his career at an Indian university, and then come to England for the finishing touches. The new scheme, moreover, has special regard to the training and capacities of the native —rather too much regard, indeed, to please certain of the Anglo-Indian community. The *Englishman* makes the curious and instructive remark that, besides having the choice between Sanscrit and Arabic, the graduate of an Indian university 'has also the advantage over the English public-schoolman of being taught from his earliest years English history, English literature, and English composition'. It is pleasant to be reminded that you must go to an Indian university for these branches of learning. Schoolmasters and parents, please note."

The much esteemed and highly respected Principal of Pachiappayah's College, Madras, Mr. John Adam, M.A., has reached England, on a furlough which has been earned by most devoted labours alike as an Educationalist and as a Reformer. Within a week of his arrival in London, Mr. Adam was elected a member of the British Committee of the Congress. Thoroughly familiar as he is with the position and the wants of Southern India, Mr. Adam will be an acquisition to the Committee. Among other matters which will occupy Mr. Adam's attention while in England is the series of handbooks entitled "Epochs of India", which he is editing for Messrs. Longmans and Co. There will be four volumes in the series. The first will be written by Mr. Dutt, the second by Mr. J. D. Rees, C.S., the third by Mr. Adam himself, and the fourth by a distinguished Anglo-Indian. The Adam series will fill a gap in the historical literature of India.

A friend of the late Mr. Joseph Pease, whose labours for India fifty years ago have been worthily recorded by Mr. J. H. Bell in his recent work, says, of our review of that work: "I should much appreciate, in any further reference to Mr. Pease's labours, a distinct intimation that it was the social condition and political wrongs of the Hindu population, even more than their domestic slavery, which engaged his attention and aroused his zeal. I have read your review, and this point appears to have been overlooked by you."

It is becoming more evident to Liberal politicians that greater attention will have to be devoted to Indian affairs. There is a great cry going up for reform and increased freedom from the intelligent classes of India, one of the underlying reasons for which is the poverty-stricken condition of the Indian people. This demand cannot with safety be perpetually ignored, and Parliament will have to make time to give due consideration to Indian matters. *India*, a journal for the discussion of Indian affairs, is doing a most useful work in this country. In its pages are focussed the debates on Indian affairs which take place in Parliament, and the references by prominent men to matters connected with our Indian Empire which appear in other papers, together with ably written articles giving reliable information upon various questions which are now pressing for consideration. *India* is published by that friend of India, Wm. Digby, at 25, Craven Street, W.C.—*Southampton Times*, September 3rd.

ECONOMIC HERESIES.

A valued friend thus remonstrates with us respecting a series of communications entitled "Indian Export and Famine Prices," which appeared in the last issue of this journal:—

"*India* is once again very good, but I see you are giving countenance to some economic heresies of the old Tory and Fair Trade order. I refer to the opinions in the letter from the *Pioneer* and the discourse of the *Anti-Jacobin*, and the views of Seymour Keay, as to the nature and effect of the *excessive* exports of India. Lord Palmerston wrote to one of the Embassies, whose secretary continued to give an account of the stories that were ever floating about at Court: 'Your gossip is interesting enough, but you need not write as if you believed it to be true.' So I am inclined to say to the editor of *India* on the economic gossip of the *Pioneer*, the *Anti-Jacobin*, and Seymour Keay. It is the same kind of stuff that used to excite the wrath of Bright, and who forthwith ticketed the propounders of it as fools. It would take too much paper and ink to show the error that underlies all this sort of writing and spouting, and it would be useless, because it (the error) has been dealt with by almost all our economists in their treatises, and very notably by Professor Cairnes in his 'Trading Principles,' Part III., under the headings of International Trade and International Value."

BENGAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Never was a nation more blessed with critics anxious to point out their mental, moral, and physical defects. The very subtlety of the intellect of the Bengalese is triumphantly quoted against them, and their moral nature is said to be as stunted and distorted as their physical growth is declared to be puny and weak. Martial heroes, fresh from the cricket fields of Eton, their thews and sinews built up on the roast beef of old England, have nothing but lofty scorn for the emaciated limbs of a submissive peasantry, fed upon rice or millet, and daily exposed to the rays of a burning sun. The shady habits of the natives are dilated upon in every tone of reproach, and the embezzlement of a native bank clerk is descanted upon with virtuous indignation by Anglo-Indians, who conveniently forget the Redpaths, the Collies, and the secretaries of building and benefit societies, who occasionally disappear with funds which do not belong to them, even in this immaculate country.

On board the steamer we came home with a distinguished Calcutta merchant, a former member of the Legislative Council, returning to England for good, after forty years spent in business in India; and on inquiring what his opinion of the honesty of the natives of India was, he said emphatically that he "had almost always had hundreds of thousands of rupees in the hands of native cultivators of Indian produce, indigo, jute, etc., and had never had a written contract with them, and had never suffered loss amounting to a four-anna piece!" Strong testimony from a practical man, well able to judge, and quite as reliable as that of some English barrister at Bombay or or Calcutta, who feels the competition of the keen wits of the Bengal Babus, who has probably never moved out of a very narrow circle, and who has scarcely ever visited a town other than the one in which he practices.

I suppose that the Hindus are no more free from faults than any other nation; that oppression by the Moslem and climatic influence will tell their tale on character; but in every country there are infinite varieties of character, and no one can justly draw an indictment against a whole nation. If the Indian people need guidance, all the more is it incumbent on their English fellow-subjects to show sympathy with them in their weakness and ignorance. The real friends of India are those who, in the words of the biographer of Lord Lawrence, "know the natives; who sympathise with them and have learnt to love them; who in the spirit of a truly Imperial race, look upon themselves as the servants of those whom they rule, and rule by serving them; who do everything that in them lies to bridge over the yawning gulf, which by our fate, or by our fault, still separates colour from colour, race from race, and creed from creed. Till that gulf can be in some measure bridged over, whatever our good intentions, and whatever the benefits of our rule—and they are neither few nor small—we still, disguise it as we may, hold India by the sword; and so long as we hold it by the sword alone, we hold it by the least satisfactory and the most precarious of tenures."—C. E. Schwann, M.P.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S VISIT TO BOMBAY IN 1889-90.

An interesting ceremony took place in the offices of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, on Tuesday, October 13th. On the occasion of Mr. Bradlaugh's visit to Bombay in December-January, 1889-90, the Congress Committee determined that the Address presented to the Member for India [and for Northampton] should be conveyed to him in a worthy manner. An exquisitely-carved sandalwood and ebony box was prepared, to contain a large album, in which was placed the address presented by the Congress, in an illuminated form, and an excellent selection of photograph views of India — chiefly of Bombay — and groups of Congressionists. Owing to certain unforeseen delays, the casket and album only reached Sir William Wedderburn (President of the '89 Congress), in England, a few days ago. Opportunity was taken of a meeting of the British Committee, at which it was known members representative of every part of India would be present, to make the presentation to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, on behalf of her lamented father. At the meeting held on the 13th inst., as we have said, the presentation was made, Mr. Arthur Bonner and Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner being present at the meeting of the Committee by invitation. Mr. and Mrs. Bonner having been introduced to all the members of the Committee,

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN said: Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, It is to-day the duty of this Committee, on behalf of the Indian National Congress, to present this Address and Casket to you as the representative of the late Mr. Bradlaugh. This duty has become a mournful one to us, as personal friends of your father, and no less so as speaking on behalf of the people of India to whom the death of Mr. Bradlaugh is an irreparable loss. To me, personally, the time which I spent with him on the voyage to India and during our stay in Bombay, must ever remain a most pleasing memory on account of the privilege I then enjoyed of much intimate converse with him, and I also think that the weeks thus spent were to him a time of much enjoyment, on account of the complete calm and rest of the voyage, and on account of the vivid pleasure he experienced from the heartfelt welcome he received on his arrival at Bombay; indeed, so touching was the warmth of this welcome that he was much moved, and, as he landed among the vast and eager crowd, he could not speak without betraying his emotion. In handing over this Address to you, I should explain that it was the only one actually read at the great meeting at Bombay held in his honour. As you are aware, there were then several hundred addresses lying ready for presentation. But time did not admit of the ceremony of presenting so large a number. It was, therefore, arranged that the Congress Address alone should be read, as expressing the feelings of the whole people of India. This document, therefore, may be said to embody those hundreds of Addresses, adopted at public meetings held in every part of India to express the joy of the people at what was then believed to be Mr. Bradlaugh's permanent recovery, and their gratitude for his unselfish and successful labours on behalf of the millions of India. Sir William Wedderburn then read the Address, as follows:—

"To Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., Member for Northampton in the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Sir,—On behalf of the Fifth Indian National Congress, assembled at Bombay, we beg to offer you our united and most heartfelt welcome, and through you we desire to convey our thanks to the electors of Northampton who have permitted you to espouse the cause of India.

"You come to us a stranger in person, not repute. For your disinterested advocacy of the claims (founded on the unanswerable demands of human progress and the solemn promises of their Queen) preferred by millions—whose appeals for justice have evoked a wide-spread response since you aroused the people of Great Britain into a sympathetic recognition of India's needs—will enshrine your name for all time in the proudest and most imperishable of human homes, the hearts and traditions of a loving and a grateful race.

"Brilliant as was the tribute of national respect which your illness elicited from the fellow-countrymen who for long years had been the daily spectators of your labours and your triumphs in England, you have won, Sir, in the mental distress and prayerful anxiety with which the population of India followed you in the tribulation of your sickness, a homage the more unique and tender that it is not matched in the recorded history of any living statesman. They have appreciated the unflinching courage with which, throughout your political career, you have confronted error and have championed truth. You have enchained their admiration by your inalienable fidelity to the popular cause.

"Proud in your possession of such qualities, and, thankful for your efforts in our cause, we trust that you may be spared to complete the great work you have begun and to read the vindication of your generous interpretation of our political aspirations, as well in the ever closer union of India and of England, as in the quickened vigour and expanding energies of a country regenerated by the partial redemption of pledges too long permitted to remain unfulfilled. We have," etc.

Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI (representing Bombay), said it was his desire to say a few words on this occasion. Sir W. Wedderburn spoke from his personal knowledge of what happened in Bombay on the occasion of Mr. Bradlaugh's visit to India. He (Mr. Naoroji) could say from all his Indian correspondence what was said about Mr. Bradlaugh's death, and he would say in the simplest and sincerest, but the most expressive, words, that all India mourned Mr. Bradlaugh's death as a great loss to them. He thought that these few words would be enough to embrace all he could possibly say. But he felt it would be an injustice to the memory of Mr. Bradlaugh if he did not say something which he knew from his own personal experience of the man. It was some time before this Committee approached him to take up the Indian cause, that he (Mr. Naoroji) had already been in communication with him. But what was more significant and gratifying to him was that it was at Mr. Bradlaugh's own invitation that he (Mr. Naoroji) met him to confer upon Indian subjects and to tell him what he wished him to do. Within half-an-hour's conversation, to Mr. Naoroji's surprise and gratification, he found that India was nothing new to him, that Mr. Bradlaugh had for a long time past communication with Indians, and was fully prepared to understand and grasp what Mr. Naoroji had to say, and it was a great pleasure to him to find such an able person so sympathetic with India and willing to devote his great talents and influence in her cause. One more point, still more impressive in Mr. Naoroji's mind, he desired to mention, as it inspired Mr. Naoroji with great confidence and hope in the success of Mr. Bradlaugh's advocacy. There was no doubt many an Englishman and M.P. who was desirous to help India, but the great difficulty, and which sometimes brought a feeling of despair to Mr. Naoroji's mind, was that he could hardly find a few who would study the vast Indian subject so thoroughly as to be able to hold their own in debate against Indian authorities. That great want was supplied by Mr. Bradlaugh. He never moved in any matter, however small or large the question, without first mastering it. And, so equipped, he was able to carry to a successful or effective issue whatever he put his soul into. That was the great secret of such success as he achieved in such a difficult field as the Indian questions. It could thus be easily realised that, struggling as he (Mr. Naoroji) had been to avail himself of English effectual and well-informed help, he had felt his object had been largely attained in gaining Mr. Bradlaugh to his side. But such was not to be, and he, therefore, of all others, naturally felt keenly the loss to India in Mr. Bradlaugh's death. Well might the Indians say, and he (Mr. Naoroji) might repeat, the words he had already said, that all India mourned Mr. Bradlaugh's death as a great loss to them.

Mr. CAINE was glad of the opportunity afforded him of saying a few words on so interesting an occasion. It had been given to few Englishmen as it had been given to him to have the opportunity of ascertaining the deep and passionate feelings of gratitude and love which the Indian people cherished for Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner's father. Particularly could he testify to Southern Indian feeling. During the last few months of last year and the earlier months of the present year he (Mr. Caine) had travelled over a large part of India. He had addressed two hundred meetings and at least three hundred thousand people. It was his constant duty and delight to refer to Mr. Bradlaugh—who was then, happily, alive, but suffering—and every reference was received with eager enthusiasm. Both in public and in private, everywhere in our great Indian Empire, a deep-rooted affection for Mr. Bradlaugh was one of the most marked features of

Indian Society. Having referred to the remarkable feeling entertained by our Indian fellow-subjects for Mr. Bradlaugh, it was his (Mr. Caine's) pleasure to be able to turn to a personal side of the matter. It was his pride to remember that, in Parliament, he had stood side by side with Charles Bradlaugh, aiding him in the battles he fought. He (Mr. Caine) had seen prejudice and dislike melting away in the presence of Mr. Bradlaugh's influence and earnest work in every direction. A bitterly hostile Parliament had been changed into a Parliament wishful to undo the wrong it had done him, solely by the exercise of the powers for benefitting humanity and for helping on good work which he employed. The place left vacant by his death—left vacant for India as well as in England—has not been filled. The blank made by his departure was still a blank. It was impossible for him (Mr. Caine) to fully express the feeling of respect which was so widely cherished for Mr. Bradlaugh or the sorrow that was felt at his death. At least he could say that the sorrow which Mrs. Bonner and the relatives of Mr. Bradlaugh were experiencing was a sorrow shared by vast multitudes who all felt and expressed deep sympathy. The presentation made just now would probably serve to bring to Mrs. Bonner's mind from time to time the gratitude to and love for her father which were cherished in India.

Mr. SCHWANN, M.P., had much pleasure in supporting all that had been said by previous speakers, alike as to the qualities and services of the late Mr. Bradlaugh and the high esteem in which he was held in India. From his own experience of India he was prepared to fully endorse all that Mr. Caine had said as to the love which was there felt for Mr. Bradlaugh. Everywhere he went he found the same state of things to exist. So much was this the case that he could assure Mrs. Bonner her father's name had become a household word throughout India. The admirable manner in which Mr. Bradlaugh defended Indian interests and brought Indian affairs under the attention of the House of Commons was recognised on every side. Mr. Bradlaugh had no personal object to serve in the various questions he brought forward, while he exhibited as great devotion to upholding principles of justice in India as he did in respect to Great Britain itself. He knew no distinction, and would not allow that there was any distinction, between British subjects in the home country or in India. Holding the ear of the House as he did Mr. Bradlaugh was able to accomplish much more than could be accomplished by any other man in that assembly. Those who follow him in his desire to do justice to India deplore his loss greatly for they feel that loss keenly. As for the bitter loss which they had experienced who were of Mr. Bradlaugh's household, he (Mr. Schwann) could assure Mrs. Bonner that it was keenly apprehended, and the most sincere condolences with her were felt and expressed on every hand.

Mr. A. O. HUME, C.B. (representing Bengal and Northern India) said: Mrs. Bonner, Though I really can add little to what my friends have already said, yet as general secretary of the Congress whose address to your honoured father is now being presented to you as his representative, I must add my testimony to theirs as to the universal esteem in which he was held in India, as to the deep gratitude there felt by all for his unselfish labours for her people, and the great sorrow that his loss has entailed on the whole country. It is vain to prolong words—all India loved him living, all India mourns him dead. But one little incident came directly under my personal knowledge, showing the unbounded confidence possessed by the people here in his undaunted independence and his unwavering love of fair play. It was at Newcastle, at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation. Like many other delegates, I went there charged by the Association I represented with written instructions to move certain amendments or additions to the Official Programme, of which we had given due notice. We arrived to find that we should not be allowed to move any amendments or even open our mouths in regard to the Official Programme. Still, the report was nominally submitted to us for approval, and as this contained only a most cold and inadequate recognition of the magnificent personality that had passed away in your dear father, I rose to offer a few comments on the report, intending to say something more worthy of him, and more worthy of the great Liberal Party whose view this report was supposed to embody. Of course I was suppressed. The man next me, a South London artizan (like myself the bearer of a suppressed amendment) to whom I had explained what I wished to do, was very indignant. "If Bradlaugh had been here," he said, "his strong hand would have let in daylight somewhere—his strong voice would have insisted on fair play: we should have got at least a hearing." So felt I; but, alas! his strong and kindly hand had ceased for ever to labour and to give—his mighty voice, that thrilled a nation's heart, was still for ever, and we, poor weak survivors, with no such champion to support us, had just to bow to the arbitrary decision of the Bureaucrats of the Federation. I believe this to be a characteristic illustration of the trust reposed in your late noble father, even though he differed from most of them on the hours of labour question, by the great bulk of the people; and wherever I go I find that his death is regarded by the working classes as an irreparable loss to the people's cause.

Mr. JOHN ADAM (representing Madras), said that he considered himself peculiarly fortunate in being present on that occasion. He had only just arrived from India and it was a matter of profound satisfaction to him that, at the first meeting of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress he attended, so interesting an event as that in which they were now engaged, should have occurred. As Vice-President of the Madras Standing Committee of the Congress he should like to say one word on behalf of Madras and Southern India generally. It was his melancholy privilege to move the resolution expressing sorrow at Mr. Bradlaugh's death at the public meeting called for this purpose in Madras. The sorrow which was manifested on that occasion was deep and strong, and showed, in a manner which could not be mistaken, how great a hold Mr. Bradlaugh had obtained on the hearts of the Indian people. As for himself he sorrowed for Mr. Bradlaugh as one who had lost a personal friend. When Mr. Bradlaugh was at Bombay it was his (Mr. Adam's) privilege to be very frequently brought into intimate relations with him. From that intercourse a real friendship had sprung and he (Mr. Adam), in then looking forward to a visit to England, counted it as one of the greatest pleasures of the visit that he should be able to renew that friendship. It was an occasion of great disappointment to him that this was rendered impossible by Mr. Bradlaugh's untimely death. When he first met Mr. Bradlaugh he (Mr. Adam) had no knowledge of him save in connection with his public work: for that work he admired him. But, when he (Mr. Adam) came into personal contact with the late member for Northampton, he conceived for him a strong affection, an affection which became deeper the more he knew of him. He (Mr. Adam) was not alone in this respect: others had, likewise, felt the constraining effect of personal intercourse with Mr. Bradlaugh. In concluding his remarks Mr. Adam wished to join, most emphatically, both for himself and for Southern India generally, in all that had been said by previous speakers as to the sympathy which was cherished for Mrs. Bonner in the great loss she had sustained in the death of her father.

Mrs. H. BRADLAUGH BONNER: Sir William Wedderburn and Gentlemen, I thank you for your kindly speeches, and I thank you and those you represent for your goodness in handing over to me, my father's only representative, this beautiful address and casket. My father's visit to Bombay was one of unmixed pleasure to him, and it did him a great deal of good. While there he, as you know, received a large number of addresses, all of which he prized very highly; but this, which he had so much pleasure in hearing read at the Congress by Sir William Wedderburn, he prized beyond all. Greatly as he valued the other addresses which were presented him, this was, as it were, the crown of them all. You will not expect me to say much, for although this is a very great pleasure to me you will well understand that it is also very painful. Nevertheless, there is just one word I should like to add in reference to what Mr. Naoroji said. It is quite true that India was no new subject with my father. From my earliest childhood I can remember him speaking, lecturing, and, I believe, writing, on behalf of the oppressed peoples of India. I feel that is all I can say except to give you my most earnest thanks.

The proceedings then came to an end.

We have pleasure in publishing the following letter,

which has been placed at our service by the Secretary of the British Committee of the Congress:—

20, Circus Road, London, N.W.
October 14*th*, 1891.

My Dear Mr. Digby,

I write to say how delighted I am with the album and casket now I have had a quiet moment to look at them; the address is most beautifully illuminated, and the casket is a magnificent piece of carving. I do so wish my father could have seen them. There is one little thing, which, small as it may seem, enhances the value greatly in my eyes—that is the photograph of Mr. Goculdass's house on Cumballa Hill, where my father was so hospitably entertained during his short stay in Bombay. I am also delighted to find the portraits of gentlemen present at that Fifth Annual Congress, and also one of the kindly President, Sir William Wedderburn. I hope you will find means to express in adequate language—as I could not yesterday—the pleasure I feel in having this magnificent memento given into my care.

Yours sincerely,
H. Bradlaugh Bonner.

THE NAWAB MOHSIN-UL-MULK ON THE MUHAMMADAN NATION.

We have received from India a copy of the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk's able addresses on the "Causes of the Decline of the Muhammadan Nation" (*Bombay Gazette* Steam Printing Works). The addresses consist of a general sketch of the causes that have brought about the decline of the Muhammadan peoples, with particular reference to our Muhammadan fellow-subjects in India. The causes of their political and intellectual decline the Nawab puts down to (1) a want of union; (2) a disregard of Muhammadan laws by Muhammadan kings in the past; (3) a want of national freedom; (4) a sudden stoppage in the progress of education and intellectual growth; and (5) a misapprehension of the teachings of the Koran. We have not to go far to be easily convinced of the truth of the first reason. The Nawab has marshalled his facts in a masterly fashion. Musa and Tarik in Spain, Osman Pasha and the other generals in Turkey, the Emperors and their Viceroys in India, are apt illustrations; and the lessons their conduct enforce are most admirably given. How sad but how true it is that not one Muhammadan country came to succour the Turks in their greatest moment of danger, and how few were the Mussulmans who were prepared to make any sacrifice for the Khalifate. Disunion has been and is rending the Ottoman Empire into shreds; internecine warfare amongst the Muhammadans of India wrested the empire from their hands; and this want of union it is that has offered the European nations a fine hunting ground in Egypt; and, further, this want of union it is that is placing the Muhammadan kingdoms and principalities of Africa under the "protection" of European Powers, and that is frightening Persia with the threat of a Russian domination.

Talking about the Muhammadan kings in the past, and directing attention to the simplicity of their lives, the Nawab relates how Omar, the second Khalif, was found lying on the bare ground by the Persian Ambassador; and points a moral in directing attention to the contrast to the humble Omar afforded by the Khalif Muktedar Billa, whose reckless and unrestrained extravagance displayed itself in the swelling of his train by seven thousand eunuchs and seven thousand porters. How un-Koranic! The Nawab says: "This reckless extravagance seems to have been the general rule. With the exception of a few wise kings each monarch tried to outdo his predecessors in pomp and display, thus violating the law of the Koran and defying the mandates of God. It is to this extravagance and selfish indulgence that is due the decline of the Muhammadan rule and sovereignty."

The Nawab deals impartially with his subject, and shows by instances and examples the want of national freedom amongst the Muhammadans. He asks: "In the whole history of our nation can you point out a single incident like that which occurred in the island of Runnymede, where the people, led by their own noblemen, compelled an unwilling king to sign the charter of their liberties?" Then, he says: "It is, I think, to this absence of combination and to this want of fellow-feeling that a great many of our disasters are due." He sums up his remarks on this head in these words: "Although Muhammadans, we are still as much Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Persians, Afghans, Moguls, as we were a thousand years ago; and not one of these races has any sympathy with the other." Too true! Our Indian Muhammadans even to-day consider themselves aliens in the land of their birth; and every Muhammadan, whether a Hindu convert or a genuine Arab, traces his descent from some Khalif of Arabia, a hero of Morocco, or a conqueror of Spain, as the whim may suit him.

The fourth cause of the Mussulman decline is assigned by the Nawab to the sudden stoppage in the progress of education, and the complete check thereby caused to intellectual growth. Under the reign of one or other of the kings philosophy and science were pursued, but "it too frequently happened that the successor of such a king was a man of an entirely different character, and, influenced by religious intolerance, he persecuted those whom his predecessors had encouraged."

Now we come to the misapprehension of the teachings of the Koran. The Nawab, unfortunately, too truly, remarks that Muhammadans present marked differences on all other matters, but they possess a wonderful uniformity as regards absence of progress. The instance of the persecution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan by his fellow Mussulmans in India shows how misguided their minds are, and how ignorance and superstition have blinded their senses to the right appreciation of the teachings of the Koran. At the same time it must be stated one's sympathy with Sir Syed is lessened, as one remembers he can be much more illiberal towards his Hindu fellow-countrymen than even his co-religionists were towards him. Unjust writers, partial to their own faith, have not been slow to attribute the faults of the present or the past Mussulmans to the principles of Islam. In his addresses the Mohsin-ul-Mulk clearly shows how unwarrantable are the attacks of Sir William Muir on Islam. With regard to Sir William it may well be said, "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones."

We earnestly recommend our Indian readers, specially those among them who are Moslems, to give this excellent pamphlet a place in their library, and to bestow upon it a careful perusal before they put it on their bookshelves. There is much in it that will be found interesting. Besides the historical sketch the personal reflections of the learned Nawab on the present condition of the Muhammadan deserves full consideration at the hands of all Moslems, and of all who wish well to the followers of Mahomet.

One word more. The counsel contained in this pamphlet is, in itself, good: all that is good in it is enhanced by the high character and great achievements of the man who gives the advice. It is not impertinent, when the green standard of the Prophet is held aloft, as it is held by Nawab Mehdi Ali, to say: "The doctrines you preach are excellent: have you, yourself, practised what you preach? Is your conduct a testimony to that which your tongue has proclaimed?" Mehdi Ali, of Etawah, can well sustain a searching examination on these points. By the brilliance of his administrative achievements in Hyderabad, and by his earnest efforts to ensure for his co-religionists a return to at least some of their former greatness, the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk is greater in his life even than in his speech: and that speech is eloquent in the highest degree.

Mr. A. O. Hume leaves England for India by the P. and O. steamer sailing from London to-morrow. On the 17th inst. he delivered a political address at the East Dulwich Reform Club.

CONSTITUTION-MAKING FOR INDIA.

What the Congress proposes in the way of Legislative Council reform is a matter of common knowledge. To Congress-men the resolution passed at Madras, in 1887, affirmed during successive sessions, and embodied, first, in the late Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and, second, in the amended version of the Cross Bill, published in a recent number of India, may seem to embody all that is worth being said on the question. Others there are, however, who think the Congress proposals too democratic, and who would, in any Chamber to be constituted, admit an element which, in a measure, would correspond to the British House of Lords. This element, it is also urged, would be more in consonance with the traditions and prevailing sentiment of the British people. One of the Indian reformers not counted in the Congress ranks,—(there are a large number of civilians and others who have not bowed the knee to Baal, but who, for various reasons, cannot avow themselves as reformers)—a year or two ago had a conversation with Mr. Bradlaugh on this point. Mr. Bradlaugh was so far impressed with what was laid before him that, in conjunction with Mr. Digby, he prepared a draft Bill in which the views shortly to be quoted were embodied. The draft was put into print. But, as it was found that the Congress Resolution and the speeches in the Congress gave no countenance whatever to any such scheme, the draft was set aside, and a Bill was drafted purely on the lines agreed to by the Congress. All the same, no harm, and, possibly, some good, may result from the publication of a part of the data which Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Digby had before them when they prepared the first (and unpublished) draft of an Indian Reform Bill. The following memorandum explains itself:—

MEMO. ON REPRESENTATION IN INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Any system of Indian Representation in the Legislative Councils of India must depend, in the first instance, for its electoral basis on the various district and local boards and municipalities which have been organised under the different schemes of Local Self-Government in the several provinces. Broadly speaking, the members of these local boards and municipalities are half elected by constituencies defined for the purpose by legislation, and are half nominated by Government. Again, broadly speaking, the local boards may be said to represent the country, and the municipalities the urban, interest. As a matter of fact, the members of these local bodies are for the most part landholders, or their agents, lawyers, educational officers, medical men, and traders. The nominated members consist partly of Government officials and partly of private individuals. There is no objection to Government officials being elected. There are officials among the elected commissioners of the Calcutta Corporation. The system under which the members of these bodies would elect from among their own number representatives on the Legislative Councils is a mere matter of detail.

2. The great importance of adequately representing the Local Self-Government authorities in the Local Councils affords an argument in favour of representation which is often lost sight of. The presence of these representatives is needed in Council in order to give the Local Self-Government policy fair play. The tendency of many local officials —consciously or unconsciously—is opposed to Local Self-Government, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is only when the native element in the Provincial Councils is endowed with political independence that the freedom and dignity of the local boards will be adequately secured.

3. For the rest a certain number of members of the Legislative Councils should be officials holding their seats *ex officio*. There should also be a certain number of what I may call unofficial *ex officio* members. It must never be forgotten India is a very conservative country, and that the only present basis of internal order within the populations of India itself is that organisation which from time immemorial has existed within the country—a patrician aristocracy trained by past associations to control and lead the lower orders of the people. It is desirable, therefore, that noblemen and gentlemen of high recognised rank should be entitled by virtue of that rank to seats in the Legislative Councils. It may be suggested that all who enjoy the position of Maharajah Bahadur or Nawab Bahadur, as the case may be—whether the title is hereditary or for life only—should be *ex officio* a member of the Council. The number of these noblemen is not considerable, and it cannot be expected that their attendance would be regular. But their *ex officio* position as Members of Council would be altogether in accord with Indian sentiment. In any case their important stake in the country justifies the status it is proposed to give them.

4. In such a scheme for Bengal there would be nine official *ex officio* members and about thirty unofficial *ex officio* members. In round numbers forty *ex officio* members.

5. The elected members to whom I have referred above should amount to forty in number. In addition to these twenty members should be nominated by Government at its discretion. The whole Council for Bengal would, therefore, consist of about one hundred members. This number does not seem too large for such a vast province. In other provinces the number would be less, and the details would vary.

6. It is not necessary at present to give representative Councils anywhere than in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. It is advisable that for the present no modification should be made in the Legislative Council of the Government of India. That may follow: but what appears to be really required is that some of the powers of that Council should be delegated to the Local Councils. The time has passed for enacting laws applicable to the whole of British India.

7. The duration of membership except in the case of *ex officio* members should be three years; but members might of course be re-elected or re-nominated.

8. No salaries should be attached to membership.

9. The powers and functions of the Councils may be as indicated in the Resolutions of the Congress.

The proposal that the Legislative Council of India should remain untouched for the present, is a proposal which would be wholly unacceptable to Indian Reformers. In that Council, as much as anywhere else in the governing bodies, is reform needed.

EARLIER EFFORTS AT REFORMED COUNCIL-CONSTRUCTION.

In this connection a glance backward at some efforts made in the direction of reform fourteen years ago, and a little later, will be read with interest. The files of one of the Madras daily papers show that in 1878 the Legislative Council reform programme of the Congress was anticipated in almost every detail. A year after, Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart, formerly in the Bombay Civil Service, and for a time a member of the Viceroy's Council—therefore, speaking as one having authority—expressed opinions in a like direction, while the Indian Association of Calcutta indicated Bengali acquiescence in proposals for reform. With these prefatory observations we lay the following correspondence before our readers:—

To the Secretary of State for India.

My Lord,

I venture to ask your Lordship's consideration of the following suggestion for a practical and simple measure to facilitate the ordinary administration of our Indian Empire. Having been a careful observer of that administration for many years, during some of which I had a share in it, however humble, I have come to the conclusion that most of our mistakes in India (and they have not been few) are due to the fact that we have no power of getting an authoritative, independent, and official, record of the opinion of the people of India on the schemes we undertake.

Intelligent and enthusiastic officers get hold of an idea for some social or material improvement, they impress their superiors with their arguments, and often succeeded in getting sanction for schemes that would not bear the examination of a responsible body of independent men, Indians and Europeans, who understand the real wants of the country.

I suggest the formation of such a representative Council—to meet in some central place—and that all schemes and projects of an administrative nature should be laid before it for full consideration and opinion. It should be ruled that no such scheme or project be sanctioned till it has been considered and reported on by this Council, and their opinion duly considered by the Government.

This Council should consist entirely of unofficial members, and

so many of the new order of "Councillors of the Indian Empire" as are not officials might be extraordinary members of it.

British India contains about 280 Collectorates, and this increased by about fifty members to represent the great cities, would be a convenient figure at which to fix the number of ordinary members of the Council. I should like to see an elective body formed in each district for the election by ballot of a Councillor. Elections might take place every five years. The details of this might be easily arranged.

The Council should hold a session every year—and an extraordinary session whenever the Governor-General may summon it. I would assign a suitable honorarium to each Councillor for his attendance at each session.

The Council should be left as free as possible to elect its president, appoint its officers, and make its own rules of procedure.

Its operations should, in the first place, be limited to the consideration of matters referred to it by the Government of India, but I would provide a plan by which the Council might address the Governor-General for permission to discuss any other matter of ordinary administrative interest.

The Council might have Standing or Special Committees to enquire into, and report on matters of a local or special nature.

All documents bearing on matters referred to the Council should be printed, and copies supplied to the members in ample time for consideration before the Council meets.

These are the general features of my scheme. I think that a Council of this nature would remove the necessity of those provisions of law which require the Governor-General and Governors to appoint extraordinary members of their Councils, and which prohibit them from legislating, except at meetings of their Councils to which the extraordinary members are summoned.

It will be clearly understood that the decisions of this Council have no absolute authority as binding the Government of India or the Secretary of State. They will merely take the form of advice tendered to the Government regarding points on which advice is asked for.

Looking back for the last thirty years, it is difficult to name any single measure, whether resulting in success or failure, regarding which the advice of such a consultative assembly would not have been of great value to the Government of India. In all schemes of public works, and especially in connection with irrigation, much unprofitable expenditure might have been avoided had there been such a body to advise the Government; its advice would probably have prevented the unfortunate "Enam Commission" in Bombay, which we had to abandon so suddenly after 1857;—and the want of such advice must at the present moment be bitterly felt in dealing with the questions of famines and agricultural indebtedness that are now before the Government. Besides these I could briefly name the following classes of questions as examples of those which ought to be referred to the Council:—

(1) Education, and especially questions affecting primary schools.
(2) All matters affecting the religious worship of the natives of India, and administration of the endowments connected therewith.
(3) The imposition and revision of the Land Tax and Income Tax.
(4) Municipal and local taxation and Government.
(5) Plans for the improvement of agriculture.
(6) Railways, and especially all questions concerning break of gauge, and the construction of new railways at the expense of the State.
(7) Control of the Press.
(8) All projects of law of a general nature.

It is not too much to say that on these and many other matters the great tax-paying community in India has no means whatever of making its opinion known.

I will not extend this letter by going into the more minute details of such a measure, but beg to state my readiness to submit a more complete explanation of my plan, if desired to do so. Nor do I submit my plan as perfect, or free from objection, but as indicating the direction in which some reform of our Indian constitution is needed.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
M. J. SHAW STEWART,
Formerly in the Bombay Civil Service.

The Cove, Ecclefechan,
16*th Oct.*, 1879.

The Indian Association Rooms,
93, College Street, Calcutta,
28*th July*, 1880.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by the Indian Association (a public body in this city which represents the interests of the people, and has branch and affiliated Associations in different parts of India) to convey to you their warm acknowledgments for your noble endeavours to secure for the people of India a voice in the government of their own country. They have read with much interest your letter to the Secretary of State for India on the formation of Consultative Assemblies. The Association have appointed a committee to draft a scheme of representative Government for India; and they would deem it a favour if you would be good enough to furnish them with any further views you may have to enunciate on this important subject. You state in your letter to the Secretary of State your readiness to submit a more complete explanation of your plan if desired to do so. The Indian Association take the liberty of requesting that you will be good enough to favour them with a complete statement of your views, which they have every reason to believe will be a valuable guide in enabling them to perform adequately the important duty they have undertaken. I have to apologize on behalf of the Association for giving you this trouble, but, as in submitting your scheme to the Secretary of State, your only desire was to serve the people of India, I am sure you will gladly accede to the request of the Association.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
A. M. BOSE, B.A., (Cantab.) Barrister-at-Law,
Honorary Secretary, Indian Association.

M. J. Shaw Stewart, Esq.

The Cove, Ecclefechan,
25*th August*, 1880.

Dear Sir,

I have much pleasure in replying to your letter of the 28th July. In the first place, I should like to say that I regard the proposed experiment as one of vital importance to India. If, on trial, it is not found to answer well, I fear all hope of getting Representative Government for India would have to be abandoned. If, on the contrary (as I hope will be the case) the Council I have proposed is found to facilitate the good government of India, then its gradual development into an autonomic chamber will in all probability be only a question of time.

No observer of constitutional history can doubt that a Representative Assembly, doing its work in the spirit of loyalty, order, and honesty, must gradually secure for itself predominance in affairs. Official doubt and dislike of such a Council will naturally be somewhat strong in India, but such feelings would soon be disarmed, and the labour of governing India (under which the present Government is showing signs of yielding), would be willingly shifted to the only body capable of supporting the burden, namely the people of India, as represented in a parliamentary chamber.

I am glad to learn that the Indian Association is about to consider the subject of Representative Government for India, as no plan, suggested by a foreigner like myself, can have any success except in so far as it commends itself to the judgment of those most interested. Paper constitutions are notoriously weak, but their weakness generally arises from their being framed with some ulterior or concealed object. I don't think that this objection can apply to me, for in this matter I have no wish but to secure and further the happiness and good government of your native country.

I now give you the details of my scheme.

(1.) Electoral Districts.—I have proposed that each of the Collectorates or Zillahs into which India is divided for fiscal purposes, should be an Electoral District and return one member, and that a certain number of the largest cities in India should also be represented. It would be unequal to give a collectorate like Poonah, and another like Rutnagherry, only one member apiece. The inequality is repaired by detaching the city of Poonah from the district, and letting the city return one and the district another.

I hesitated between one deputy for each district and two. Two might be given without increasing the size of the Council beyond that of the House of Commons, and eventually it may be found a desirable change, but as a commencement and looking to the scope of the Council being limited to advice, and to the novelty of the idea of representation in India, I preferred only one member for each Collectorate as stated in my scheme.

(2.) Cities.—There are about twenty cities in India which should return three, two, or one members, returning thirty in all.

(3.) Universities.—Each of the Universities might return one or two members, to be elected by the graduates.

(4.) Register of Voters should be prepared in each district by the Collector or Chief Officer, and periodically open for revision before a legal functionary.

(5.) Qualification of Voters.—All males over 18 years of age may vote who

(*a*) Pay Income Tax or License Tax.
(*b*) Pay Land Tax.
(*c*) Own Rent Free Land of the value of Rs.1,000.
(*d*) Own or occupy a house of the value of Rs.500.
(*e*) Are Municipal Commissioners, or hold similar offices.

(6.) Mode of Voting.—Voting to be conducted by ballot, under the rules in force in the United Kingdom so far as applicable.

(7.) Qualification of Candidates.—No one can be nominated as a candidate who

(*a*) Is a female.
(*b*) Is less than 25 years of age.

(*c*) Has been convicted of any offence, punishable under the Indian Penal Code, with rigorous imprisonment, for a period of three years or upwards.

(*d*) Is, or within a period of five years has been, a bankrupt.

(*e*) Holds any office under Government that qualifies for pension.

(*f*) Is not a British subject.

(8.) Allowance to Members.—To each of the ordinary members of Council an annual honorarum of Rs1,000 should be paid, and an allowance of Rs10 per diem for each day of attendance during the session. This charge would not exceed four lakhs of Rupees.

(9.) Place of Meeting.—I think Calcutta objectionable, because it is not central; and because it is desirable that the Council should be free from the predominating influence of a great Executive Government. The same objections apply to Madras and Bombay. It occurs to me that Agra, Nagpur, or Poona, might be suggested as desirable places of meeting.

(10.) Contact with Executive Government.—As above provided, no public servants will be eligible as members of the Council, and there will be no Ministerial seats as in the French Chamber. But the Government of India should be represented during the Session of Council by a High Official, ready to give any information and assistance the Council requires. He should have no control over, and take no part in, the debates of Council.

(11.) Council Hall.—The Government of India will, of course, cause a suitable building to be erected for the Council and its Offices, as soon as the place of meeting is decided.

(12.) Finances of India.—The Council should be supplied with the fullest information as to the accounts and finances of India, and it will be its yearly duty to consider and revise the estimates, and to communicate to the Government of India its resolutions thereon.

(13.) Native States.—It seems to me desirable that the native States in India, and even the territories belonging to European nations, should eventually be represented in the Council, and perhaps means may be devised for overcoming the rather obvious difficulties of such a course. In the meantime the native States may be represented by extraordinary members, *i.e.*, "Councillors of the Indian Empire" selected and appointed by the Viceroy.

(14.) Rules of Procedure.—I think the Council should, from the commencement, be recognised as having the fullest authority to elect its own President, to make its own rules of procedure, and to appoint its own officials. Spontaneous and natural action, even if mistaken, is preferable to the most perfect and unexceptionable procedure, if devised or controlled by official experience.

I think I have now gone through all the details of my scheme, not already stated in my letter to the Secretary of State; and I can only say that if the Association thinks them worthy of its consideration and finds them of any service in the task it has undertaken, I shall be much gratified.

If my scheme is carried out, India will have a Council of 300 or 350 men, chosen by the free votes of an electorate consisting of about one-fourth of the adult male population, (and, which in process of time, would, of course, be extended); and this Council would meet in complete freedom from official control, but with all the information of the Government of India at its disposal. Every scheme connected with the administration of India would be placed before it, previous to final sanction, and it would have the opportunity of placing its deliberate opinion on record, with absolute independence.

Although such a Council may wield no authority, it would still offer to the patriotic and educated natives of India a career of great value, as affording them both a means of useful service to their country, and an opportunity of learning the modern arts of government and statesmanship, in which, in times past, so many of them—Mahomedans as well as Hindoos—were profoundly versed. In fact, it would be the first sign and promise of a real national life, of which the formation of Associations like yours has only been the precursor.

Public opinion in England regards with just pride and satisfaction the policy that has led in India to such reforms as the abolition of slavery, of suttee, and of infanticide, and the Association may take it for certain that no change in the mode of governing India will be approved in this country, unless there is some assurance against the adoption of a retrograde policy in these and similar matters. This point the Association will doubtless regard as one of supreme importance in its further action.

It will not escape notice that in writing to the Secretary of State I have chiefly laid stress on the assistance that my scheme will afford to the Government of India, and in this letter to you on the benefit it will confer on the people of India. But the two objects are equally important and inseparable. For, so long as the Government of India is a pure bureaucratic despotism, so long will the people of India suffer from stagnation, and the want of that political activity which is the life of societies like ours. On the other hand, until the people of India are provided with a voice by which to express their needs and wishes, no Government, however benevolent, can succeed in making them happy, or avoid mistakes.

It has been objected to my scheme that the proposed Council would be either a mere debating society or a hotbed of seditious talk. This objection seems to involve a painful view of the future of India, and almost makes one say, in despair, Better take the risk of seditious talk, than go on with the present monotony of well meant, but often mistaken attempts at progress; but I confidently look for better things from your people, and that they will prove themselves neither pedantic students nor hatchers of sedition.

If, notwithstanding the action now about to be taken by your Association, Parliament hesitates to grant any measure of representation to India, you may be sure that such hesitation arises from no jealous desire to retain power in the hands of a few official Englishmen, but from an honest doubt as to the fitness and ripeness of your people for the change. If you make it your task to dispel these doubts, the boon you ask for cannot be long withheld.

I remain,

Yours faithfully.

M. J. SHAW STEWART.

To A. M. Bose, Esq., B.A. (Cantab),
Honorary Secretary, Indian Association, Calcutta.

FURTHER STATEMENT OF VIEWS.

The Cove, Ecclefechan, 17th November, 1880.

I wish to state my views as to some suggestions that have been made on my letters to the Secretary of State of the 16th October, 1879, and to the Honorary Secretary of the Indian Association of the 25th August last, on the subject of the representation of the people of India in their Government. Some of these suggeseions have been made by persons whose experience is far greater than mine in all matters connected with the administration of India:—and if I venture to examine them and to express freely my own opinions, I trust that the attention I have devoted to this special subject will be admitted as an excuse for what would otherwise seem presumptuous.

(1) *It is suggested that the object in view can be better obtained by extending the principle of representation to the existing Legislative Councils.*

These Legislative Councils as at present constituted are essentially official. When I had the honour of a seat on the Viceroy's Council, it was composed of fifteen members, viz.:—the Viceroy, and six ordinary members, all official and all European, and eight additional members, four official, and four non-official. Of the latter two were European merchants, and two were Indians. On a division the preponderance of eleven officials to four non-officials, or of thirteen Europeans to two Indians, generally secured a majority for the Government. I only know of one instance in which the Viceroy was in a minority. This represents pretty accurately the constitution of all the Legislative Councils at the present time.

The representative principle cannot be extended to these Councils without a great increase in the number of non-offical members. We can't expect the hundred and fifty millions of our Indian fellow subjects to take the trouble of electing four representatives to sit in a Council of fifteen; nor can we fix the number of representative members in these Councils at any reasonable number, without being prepared for their being numerically able to out-vote, many-fold, the utmost number of official members that the Viceroy and Governors can collect around them. The suggestion, therefore, seems to involve an abrupt departure from the present system of maintaining an official majority in these Councils, and the change will, therefore, be so much the more critical and fundamental than that involved in my plan, in proportion as the power and influence of the Legislative Councils is greater than than that which the Representative Assembly I have proposed would be invested with.

The statutory power of the Legislative Councils is very great, and is I believe only limited by the fundamental laws of the realm, and the Acts that contain the Indian constitution. It is further limited by the triple veto of the Presidency Governor, of the Viceroy, and of the Secretary of State, to which all these laws are subject. Notwithstanding these limitations, their influence in the Indian Government is enormous, and I cannot help thinking that there would be a great risk in any sudden transfer of the balance of power from the official to the non-official element of such important and influential bodies.

The additional members of these Councils are, under the present system, summoned only to such meetings as are devoted to legislation. They have nothing to do with the executive work of the Government, and the details of the secretariats are kept most jealously guarded from their intrusion. If the representative system be extended to these Councils, is it proposed to break down this wall of separation, and o allow the Council, by a majority, to call for papers, and raise debates on other than legislative questions? If not, then, not only shall we fail to secure the main object of my scheme, viz., the assistance and advice of the natives in administrative questions, but we shall fail to get the best men to come forward as representatives; and the lives of the Viceroys and Governors will be made burdens to them between the evenly balanced claims of official exclusiveness and popular representation.

Another objection of great force occurs to me. By applying the representative system to the existing Legislative Councils, we should have a double representation of the people of India. Bengal (for example) would send one set of representatives to the Bengal Council,

and another set to the Viceroy's Council. The constitutional difficulties involved in such a system, are obvious; nor would they be removed by treating the Viceroy's Council as an "Upper House." There is, however, no occasion to discuss this matter in greater detail, till the suggestion is seriously proposed. In the meantime, I may venture to hope that I have shown cause to doubt if it would be successful.

(2) *It is suggested that a consultative Council such as I propose will lead to idle talk and waste of time.*

I am not sure that this objection will not apply to all representative bodies; and that it is not even to some extent true of the present despotic system of Government in India. But admitting for the sake of argument, that there may be some risk of idle talk and waste of time in the Representative Council I have proposed, I would venture to recall attention to three fundamental propositions, the truth of which was virtually admitted by every speaker in the debate that took place in the late House of Commons, on Sir David Wedderburn's motion, and which form the sole justification of this paper. These propositions are

(I) That the burden of the present form of Government of India is too much for a handful of foreign officials.

(II) That to call the people of India to take a share, through their representatives in that burden, is good both for them and for us.

(III) That transfers of power in the body politic should be gradual and not sudden.

If these propositions are admitted, it seems to follow that some such intermediate scheme as mine ought to be tried. We must have no leap in the dark, we must feel our way, and we must not lose time. I have said already, and repeat with emphasis, that the scheme I proposed is not proposed as the best, or as perfect, or as free from objection, but simply as "indicating the direction in which some reform of our Indian Constitution is needed." And I shall be the first to welcome any better scheme that may be proposed by the natives of India, or by politicians at home. If no better scheme is proposed, we must not reject the one I have described merely for the risk of idle talk and waste of time.

No one proposes to pass an Act of Parliament commanding writs to issue for a ready-made Indian House of Commons, to meet within a year of the date of the Act. On the other hand, is it not nearly as unwise to shut our eyes to the inevitable future, and to conceal from ourselves that such a House must grow into existence within a century or two, and that the work of preparation cannot be commenced too soon? On the wisdom and foresight with which this work of preparation is undertaken, the future prospects of India greatly depend; and the problem, however difficult, must be resolutely faced.

Reverting, however, to the objection we are considering, I should like to notice that the Budget Rules introduced by the Financial Department in India, already interpose a long interval between the acceptance of any project involving outlay, and the provision, by a budget allotment, of funds for its commencement. It seems to me that it would be easy to arrange for the consideration of any such project by the Representative Council, being concluded in a shorter time than is needed for the provision of funds to commence it. In such cases then, there would be no loss of time. See, however, my remarks on the fourth suggestion.

If fairplay be given to the Council, I think it will supply the Government of India with sound and valuable advice on many subjects when such advice is now much needed, and I hope it will soon attain a respectable position in the ranks of representative bodies.

(3) *I am asked what sort of men would be returned as members of this body.*

The answer to this question must depend on two factors, (1) the spirit in which the Council is convened; and (2) the wishes of the Constituencies. If the franchise be granted grudgingly; if provision is not made to prevent official interference; or if there is any lack of cordiality towards the Council on the part of the Government, then I can quite conceive that the best men will not come forward as candidates. But if fair scope is assured to the Council, I see no reason to doubt that it will be composed largely of loyal, patriotic, and respectable men. They will represent various interests, and party spirit will soon appear in the Council and at the elections. This will be welcomed as a sign of healthy action.

There are some reasons for hoping that it will be comparatively easy to maintain purity in the elections. There are no traditional habits to combat. The size of the constituencies and other reasons will probably deter rich men from attempting to purchase seats by bribery, and many of the members returned will probably be so thoroughly representative of their countrymen in respect of worldly means, as in other respects, that I doubt if the small honorarium I proposed will be sufficient to enable them to maintain a decent figure during the Sessions.

(4) *I have been asked to explain my view of the relations between the Government of India and the new Council.*

As already stated I think the new Council will obviate the necessity of maintaining the five Legislative Councils now in existence. I would go further and say that it will facilitate the abolition of Councils at Madras and Bombay, and the substitution of Lieutenant-Governors for Governors at these places. The saving in cost the these changes would effect, would go far to meet the expenses of the new Council. As regards the work of legislation, all projects of law, wherever originating, would come before the Viceroy, who would consider them in his Executive Council and send them for consideration in the Representative Council, by which body they would be considered and returned to the Viceroy with a record of its resolutions or advice. The Viceroy in Council if he approved of the advice, might at once pass the law, and if he disapproved of it, might either pass it, subject to the sanction of the Secretary of State, or refer the matter for the decision of that authority. If it be urged that time would be lost in these references, I would reply that the Viceroy will retain the power that he now has of promulgating by his individual fiat emergent ordinances to run for six months; and that there is no reason to believe that a greater loss of time would result than is now usual in the ordinary routine of secretariat work in India. I am not sure that the transaction of business will not be facilitated by the introduction of the new element.

So much for legislation. As regards all other schemes or prospects of an administrative nature, the action of the Council would be similar to that described. No interference at all will take place with the ordinary routine work of the State, or with any matter that merely involves the application of existing rules. But when any new question arises, or any old question involving principles of considerable political interest, it will be considered by the Local Government and sent on to the Viceroy, for the purpose of obtaining the advice of the Representative Council. The Viceroy and Local Government will be perfectly free to act as seems best to them on receipt of the Council's advice; with this proviso, that if the advice of the Council is disregarded the whole papers should be transmitted to the Secretary of State. It does not appear to me difficult to frame rules for the guidance of the Government in regard to the matters that ought to be referred to the Council. My impression is that the tendency will soon be to refer more matters to the Council than are absolutely necessary. It is some years since I left India and the mode of transacting business in the Government Offices has, I believe, changed considerably of late years; I am unable, therefore, to speak with any confidence as to the detailed instructions that would have to be given on this point.

There is another direction in which the establishment of a Representative Council would necessitate the early and serious attention to certain reforms whose propriety has long been admitted. I refer to the employment of natives in many posts heretofore reserved for the covenanted Civil Service. This is certain to be one of the matters on which the Representative Council will press its advice on the Government. And when we consider that a civilian's career, counting from the date of the advertisement that invites him to compete, to the stoppage by death of his pension may possibly exceed sixty years, it is obvious that prudence suggests an early move in this matter. I believe I am right in saying that candidates are still being invited to compete, and successful candidates sent out to India in the same quantity, and with the same conditions and privileges, as if they were no such thing in contemplation as to employ natives in the offices hitherto reserved for them. The claims on Indian revenues that these advertisements entail may possibly continue to the year 1950, and if we consider the family allowances which are paid by funds supported in some measure by public money, they may not be finally extinguished for fifty or sixty years longer. I trust that the great importance of this subject will justify my referring to it in this place.

In some respects the experiment will be novel, and of unusual interest. Representative institutions have taken firm root among European settlers in America, Africa and Australasia—but they have never been tried in Asia, or among the natives of the country, or among any races not European. The present scheme will provide the first Representative Assembly in Asia; consisting of, and chosen by, the natives of India; and in which European settlers will have no part. In Canada, the Cape, and Australia, the native population is practically excluded from the franchise, and is not represented in the Parliaments—but is placed under the protection of special officers. No such arrangement will be needed in India; where we shall be giving, for the first time, to the natives of a distant country, the privileges that we have hitherto reserved with jealous care for our own countrymen. The gift will be a great one, and great will be the responsibility of the people who accept it. The question is, Are they fit to undertake that responsibility or not? My belief is that they are anxious to fit themselves, and that if we do our best to help the work of preparation, by wise, prudent, and gradual reforms, this great scheme will be brought to a successful issue. Then, and not till then, can the West be said to have repaid to the East any portion of her ancient debt.

I have not as yet received any formal reply to my letter to the Indian Association of the 24th August last, and this paper has been written in ignorance of the line of argument and action that the Association may adopt. I believe, however, that the proposal which I made has on the whole been favourably received by the people of India.

M. J. SHAW STEWART.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN INDIA.

As the attention of the several Government heads of different provinces in India is drawn towards the improvement of technical education, I think it will not be out of place or time to make certain remarks as regards the system that had been practised there before the English had the country in their hands. It is commonly understood that Indians lack a good deal, if not altogether, in realising the utility of technical education; but it is enough to say that if that would have been the case then innumerable specimens of excellent workmanship in India would not have been held sacred and unparalleled in the world even up to the present time of immensely improved science and art. The fact is that Indians realise the utility of technical education, but they cannot realise the method of getting into the system of *modern* technical education. Their own system of education being broken, they are now in a sort of helpless condition. The system which led to the perfection of manual arts in India was really the keynote to the caste system, the abuse of which has now led to the degeneration of the country. The Hindus wanted to educate their children by practising economy to the benefit of the education; there could be no better person than a father to instruct his own son in a thorough and adequate way: this was the principle the Hindus worked upon, and according to that they were able to avoid establishing public technical schools; consequently they made the law that every person must train his own son in his own trade, so that the son could learn his professional work at home, and learn it better being conversant with the tools and implements of his father from his childhood. This economic system of education which has no parallel in the history of the world gave rise to the so-called pernicious system of caste; but at the same time it also gave rise to the unparalleled industry of Indian manufacture. This system proved so effectual that in former days people in India hardly knew how to become poor; and perhaps that was the time when India could almost boast of being the richest country in the world. A foreigner is always struck with the sight of innumerable fairs that still take place in almost every village in commemoration of certain grand occasions; some of them being specially on certain astronomical coincidences, as for instance the "Kumbhä Melâ" of Hardwar at the end of Jupiter's cycles, "Chärräk Melâ" in Bengal on the occasion of the sun's entering the constellation Aries every year. These fairs were originally intended to serve the purpose of industrial exhibitions, but they are now so much incomparable to those of former days that they stand for mere pretensions of bygone arts. To bind the minds of the people to these exhibitions, and to industry in general, the lawgivers introduced religious elements into them so as to make the people religiously bound to observe those laws, the consequence of which is that in the Fair there is now more of religious spirit than the spirit of exhibition, and caste is more upheld by religion than by business. The Hindu mind being very pliant to religious enthusiasm, it has been carried away from industry, and the thing which was intended to stimulate and encourage, has become, after the lapse of time, the cause of the degeneration of arts. Under the influence of English education caste is immensely tolerated from the professional point of view, and consequently the people are left uncertain as to what profession they are intended for. Being unable to decide their course they, as a matter of fact, go in for general education and then seek the employment which they consider would most suit to their "what-to-do" state of mind. It is for this reason that the Indians are found so indifferent to technical education. Even under such circumstances sometimes the authorities find "natives to take intelligent and independent control" in some "branches of technical industries;" that is only when they are forced, or at any rate led, to some professional work. This technical education movement, which is considered by some authorities as premature, according to my opinion, ought to have followed the first stroke that was pointed towards caste system; then the country would not have become so poor and the people so indifferent to their welfare and prosperity.

There is another reason why technical education is regarded with much repulsion by the Indians of upper and middle classes. In some branches of technical industry, the still-existing hereditary artisans have the monopoly of all the country work; and in many cases their work matches the highly-finished workmanship of a very highly instructed artisan just out from one of the most expensive institutions. Therefore, unless a man proves his exceptional talent and is fortunate enough to secure an appointment, he has very little encouragement or chance of success in the face of those so-called crude artisans. I think it is also the best thing the authorities ought to take notice of, that a system can be adopted to instruct those country artisans who have some elementary idea of the work by heredity and who can grasp the idea more easily than one who never knew anything about the work before he was told that he had to learn it. I must state that I do not advocate the introduction of caste system in another form, but what I mean is to make the education optional for anybody who wants the training; but the system ought to be more beneficial to those who are naturally intent upon the training. Those who take any interest in Indian affairs must have noticed that those who wish to go in for technical education can hardly afford to do it; and consequently, in want of better education, they follow the trade of their forefathers in its primitive style. I have stated before that caste is now immensely tolerated from a professional point of view; consequently the more intelligent portion of the industrial class now go in for general education, and look down upon their profession which they inherit according to caste system. On the other hand, those who can afford to go in for technical education are generally indifferent to it. Therefore industry is left into the hands of the poorest class. Unless technical education reaches this class of Indian population the education movement will meet with very little success, and perhaps the authorities will then surmise that the movement was really a premature one.

While considering these circumstances the first thing that ought to be noted is the language in which the education should be imparted. The greatest drawback in our system of education in India is that we finish our education as soon as we learn the English language; the medium of our acquiring knowledge becomes the ultimatum of our education, we therefore leave knowledge behind the screen, and give our best opportunities in mastering the elements of the English language. Of course English has obtained a fascination in my country; when we speak bad English, Englishmen in India, as a rule, laugh at us and consider us very ignorant, at the same time forgetting that they speak our language far worse. According to my opinion, unless technical education be imparted through the medium of the language of the country it will never reach those who are more concerned in it and whom it ought to be intended for. If the language of the country be the medium, the people will meet the education halfway, and it will save trouble, time and money, at the benefit of education. This difficulty of language being removed, I am sure the promoters of education will have no cause to conclude that the movement was premature.

It is sadly true that the want of a suitable staff of competent teachers to give instruction in the language of the country, and the want of suitable books in it, must be endured for sometime; but I hope this difficulty will be removed before long. I am glad to notice that the Government has reserved one scholarship (Gilchrist) every year to be awarded to an Indian youth for technical education in England. I hope this scheme will meet with success, and will not meet with the same fate as that of the Agricultural Scholarships. When these youths go back after finishing their education here, they will have double duty to perform, to increase their literature with suitable books and to instruct the people in their respective subjects; and I hope the Government will encourage them and utilise them for the benefit of the country and the people.

APURBA CHANDRA DATTA.

Emanuel College, Cambridge.

THE RIGHT HON. J. CHAMBERLAIN ON THE DATE OF THE GENERAL ELECTION.

In the course of a public interview on the 6th instant, Mr. Chamberlain said of the coming appeal to the nation: "The General Election is hardly likely to take place until after the harvest next year. It may come in June, but I think autumn the likelier time. It may even come in the spring; one cannot tell what may happen. The Government might go to the country on their present legislation, but it is more likely they will endeavor to pass their Irish Local Government Bill. There is a fair prospect of that being done. The Opposition may adopt the same attitude towards it that they did towards the English Local Government Bill and the Education Bill. If they do the election is likely to be late in the year."

MR. CAINE AND LORD WENLOCK.

The report of Lord Wenlock's reply to Mr. Caine's impeachment of the famine policy of the Madras Government is a very tornado of fury. "Almost every single word that was written by Mr. Caine," says Lord Wenlock, "is absolutely and maliciously untrue." This is sweeping, especially as Lord Wenlock does not appear to allege anything more "malicious" against Mr. Caine than that he was misled by a resident native informant. This gentleman told Mr. Caine that in the two districts of Chingleput and Arcot the cattle and people are dying by hundreds. In regard to Chingleput, Lord Wenlock's statement is that no one has died from starvation, though the poorer sort of cattle have been cut off. In North Arcot there have been four deaths of natives from starvation, and some mortality among the cattle. This does not quite stamp Mr. Caine's statement as absolutely untrue, though it may have been exaggerated, and, on the other hand, it is not pleasant to hear the Governor's statement that ragi, the food of the poorest classes, is cheaper than it was in 1877—the famine year. Cheaper, yes, but how much cheaper? Lord Wenlock tells a creditable story of devotedness on the part of his Government, on which we congratulate it. Still, Governments have been caught tripping before, and their language has been just as strong as Lord Wenlock's. —*Daily Chronicle.*

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

REVISED LIST OF STANDING CONGRESS COMMITTEES, 1891.

CIRCLE.						
No.	NAME.	JURISDICTION.	POPULATION.* In 1891. In Millions.	In Decimals.	HEAD QUARTERS.	FULL NAME AND ADDRESS OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.
1	CALCUTTA	Presidency, Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions, Assam and Orissa ..			Calcutta ..	J. Ghosal, Esq., Kashiabagan Garden House, Upper Circular Road.
2	DACCA	Dacca District			Dacca	Babu Iswar Chunder Dass, Pleader and Chairman of Municipality.
3	FARRIDPORE ..	Farridpore District ..			Farridpore ..	Babu Ambica Churn Mozumdar, Pleader.
4	BARISAL	Barisal District			Barisal	Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, Pleader.
5	RAJSHAHYE ..	Rajshahye Division (excluding Rajshahye District)			......	A. Chowdhury, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Bar Library, Calcutta.
6	RAMPUR-BEAULEAH	Rajshahye District ..			Rampur Beauleah	Babu Sures Chunder Moitra, B.L., Pleader, etc.
7	BHAGALPUR ..	Bhagalpur Division ..			Bhagalpur ..	Dr. Ladli Mohun Ghose.
8	CHOTA NAGPUR ..	Chota Nagpur Division ..			Hazaribagh ..	Babu Hari Charan Mittra, M.A., B.L., Pleader.
9	BEHAR	Patna Division (excluding the Mozufferpur District)			Bankipur ..	Abdul Hamid, Esq., B.A., B.L.
10	MOZUFFERPUR ..	Mozufferpur District ..			Mozufferpur ..	Pringle Kennedy, Esq.
11	BENARES	Benares Division			Benares ..	Babu Upendra Nath Bose, B.A., LL.B., Chaukhamba.
12	N.-W. PROVINCES	North-Western Provinces (excluding the Benares Division)			Allahabad ..	Secretary, Standing Committee, Indian National Congress, Johnstonganj.
13	OUDH	Oudh			Lucknow ..	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma, Office of the Advocate.
14	DELHI	The Delhi Division ..			Delhi	Munshi Keddarnath, Pleader.
15	PUNJAB	The Punjab (excluding the Delhi Division)			Lahore	Charles Golak Nath, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
16	SINDH	Sindh			Kurrachi ..	Tahilram Khemchand, Esq., Pleader.
17	KAIRA	Kaira and Panch Mahals			Kaira	Prof. Manilal N. Duvedi, B.A., Honorary Magistrate, etc.
18	AHMEDABAD ..	Ahmedabad District, Cutch and Kattiwar, Rajkot ..			Ahmedabad ..	Rao Saheb Kesava Lal Motilal, Pleader.
19	SURAT	Surat and Broach			Surat	Secretary of the Praja Hit Vardhak Sabha.
20	SHOLAPUR ..	Sholapur District			Sholapur ..	P. L. Nagpurkar, Esq., Pleader.
21	BELGAUM	Belgaum District			Belgaum ..	Rao Saheb Sadashiva Balkrishna Bhate, Pleader, etc.
22	BHUSAWAL ..	Bhusawal District ..			Bhusawal ..	Rao Saheb Chintaman Bapuji Morgankar, Pleader, etc.
23	NUGGER	Ahmednugger District ..			Nugger	† ......
24	DECCAN	The Deccan (excluding the Sholapur, Belgaum and Nugger Districts) and Kandeesh (excluding Bhusawal.)			Poona	B. G. Tilak, Esq., Joshi Hall.
25	BOMBAY	Bombay Island, Colaba, Thana and Ratnagiri Districts			Bombay	D. E. Wacha, Esq., Presidency Association
26	BERAR	Berar			Amraoti	R. N. Mudholkar, Esq., Pleader, High Court.
27	NAGPUR	Central Provinces ..			Nagpur	C. Naraian Swamy Nayudu, Esq., Chairman of Municipality.
28	JUBBULPORE ..	Jubbulpore and Hushangabad Division			Jubbulpore ..	A. Nundy, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
29	MADRAS	Madras Presidency ..			Madras	M. Viraraghava Chariar, Esq., 100, Mount Road.

* The column for population to be filled up when the Census Reports are published.
† The name and address of the Secretary will be communicated afterwards.

A. O. HUME, General Secretary.

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INDIA.

OCTOBER 23, 1891.

THE CONGRESS GATHERING IN ENGLAND.

It is with much pleasure we find ourselves in a position to publish the following extract from the minutes of the meeting of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, held on the 13th instant:—

"4. On the notice given by Mr. Bonnerjee, who was unable to be present, that the question as to whether it would not be advisable for the Congress to meet in England next year, be re-considered, a long and careful consideration of the whole matter followed.

"On the motion of Mr. Caine, seconded by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, it was resolved: That the resolution passed at the last meeting of this Committee, recommending the postponement of the proposed meeting of the Congress in England next year, be affirmed;

"At the same time the Committee think it desirable that no other session of Congress, after that of December, 1891, be held until the Congress has assembled in England; and

"Recommend to the Nagpur Congress that Resolution XI. of last year be re-affirmed, the early summer of 1893 being substituted for 1892;

"Further resolved: That a Reception Committee be formed to raise funds for the entertainment of one hundred delegates to the Congress of 1893 in England for one month; and

"That a formal letter of invitation, signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of this Committee, be forwarded to the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, for presentation to the Congress at Nagpur in December next."

The resolution of the preceding meeting of the Committee which has been affirmed was in the following terms:

"That in view of the certainty of a General Election taking place during 1892, and the uncertainty of the time during the year when the Queen may dissolve Parliament, the British Committee of the Indian National Congress advise that the meeting of the Congress proposed to be held in London next year be postponed: but they urge upon the Standing Congress Committees the importance of sending a number of delegates to England able to advocate the claims of the people of India before the electors of the United Kingdom pending and during the Election contest."

Probably, in regard to no matter which has come before them have the Committee given so much serious thought and careful deliberation as to the assembling of the Congress in England. Not even in India has the fact been so strongly realised as it has been by Sir W. Wedderburn and his colleagues that the Congress cause will make but little progress until the aims and objects of Indian reformers are brought under the immediate cognisance of the British electorate. Both here and in India it is recognised that much has been done in India. When the seventh session of the Congress has been held in Nagpur, every presidency and province in the empire, save the Panjab, will have been the scene of a session of this truly national gathering in free Parliament assembled. It is not to the blame, but to the praise, of the Congress leaders that no session has been held at Lahore. Consideration for the feelings of the supreme authorities and the fears Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues are known to share—mistakenly, we cannot but think—lest political excitement so near to the North-West frontier should do harm, are alone the reasons why the Congress delegates have not assembled in the Panjab. With the meeting at Nagpur, as we have said, all India

will have been brought into contact with the Congress. If Pandit Ajudhia Nath, of Allahabad, should be the president of the forthcoming session of the Congress, the orthodox Hindus will be admirably represented in the line of presidents, while every great and progressive community, in the person of one of its leading members, will have found representation at the head of this great, national, and patriotic movement. The work in India—so far as it can be focussed in a national gathering—has largely been accomplished: the time has come for a farther step forward, a step forward in another land, under the eyes and in the presence of the ruling race in its own home. We cannot but feel that the step which the Committee has taken is one which will be highly popular in India. With it is coupled a condition which will not make it less acceptable to our Indian fellow-subjects. When the delegates arrive in England they will be received in a unique manner. It has not been the habit of political, philanthropic, sanitary, scientific, or philological Congresses, assembling in London, to do much more for their delegates than to give them good advice as to where they can find accommodation during their stay. The British Congress Committee take a long step beyond all this. From the moment of landing, and for a month afterwards, the one hundred delegates designated by their countrymen to represent them in the home of the conquerors of their land, will be treated as honoured guests, the British friends of the movement represented by the delegates experiencing much pleasure in being permitted thus to indicate their solidarity, and sympathy, with their Indian fellow-subjects. The generous hospitality of Indians to Englishmen will find a fitting, if inadequate, recognition in this incident.

We doubt not much disappointment will have been experienced in India at the suggestion that the Congress, intended to be held in England in 1892, should be postponed. Long and anxious were the deliberations upon this point. Most carefully were the advantages and disadvantages of meetings next year considered. All the facts which told for or against the assembling of Indian patriots in England on the eve of a general election were fully canvassed. Finally, the decision was unanimous that it would be a mistake that the meetings should take place in 1892. When the new Parliament is in session, and Home Rule is not merely in the air, but is the object of most men's thoughts and efforts, then, and not in the turmoil of a fight raging in every constituency from Caithness and the Orkneys to Cornwall and the Scilly Isles, from Galway to Yarmouth, could an Indian effort for a recognition of Indian claims to a measure of self-government be most fittingly and most fully put forward. Further, so far as attention to the delegates is concerned, it will make all the difference in the world whether, on the Treasury Bench and at the India Office, friends or foes are in possession. Regarded in any and every light there can, we think, be little or no doubt that the wisest course has been adopted in the decision to which the British Committee of the Congress has come. We hope what has been done will commend itself heartily to Indian Congressists throughout the Empire.

SCHEMES OF COUNCIL REFORM.

Elsewhere in this issue we publish some valuable comments on Indian Legislative Council reform. Our object in doing so is, chiefly, to draw attention to the proposed constitution of a Bengal Council on the lines suggested by the Congress, added to which is an admixture of the hereditary element. In England the hereditary feature in legislative authority is becoming more and more discredited, and will, sooner or later, disappear, an elected Senate taking its place. The stage of constitutional development which India has now reached may require that the hereditary and traditional leaders of the people should, *ex officio*, share with elected members in the labours of a legislative chamber. We have reason to believe that the points mentioned in the Memorandum we quote are more or less taken up by Lord Dufferin in that Minute of his which Lord Cross so persistently burkes. The Secretary of State for India will neither himself act upon Lord Dufferin's suggestions, backed up though they were with a remarkable consensus of contemporary official opinions, and, subsequently, endorsed by Lord Lansdowne, nor will he allow Parliament to know what the ex-Viceroy said. Lord Dufferin's scheme advocated a smaller Council than is indicated in the Memorandum which we publish and a larger proportion of nominated members. If only Lord Dufferin's scheme and the connected papers, including the report of Lord Lansdowne and his colleagues of two years ago upon it, were published, the Congress demands would, we have reason to believe, be found to have received such emphatic support from the highest officials in India as would shame the present British Government into dropping their own miserable Bill, and would more than justify the Congress organisation in all that it has done.

It would, we are convinced, be possible, if all the papers we have mentioned were published, to restrict the share which Parliament should take in ensuring reform for India to the passing of an Enabling Bill. Such a Bill would empower the Government of India to undertake the necessary legislation on details subject to the approval of the Secretary of State and the sanction of Parliament. The new Bill, approved during the last session of Congress, is to all intents and purposes an Enabling Bill. It deals with principles, lays down controlling lines of action, and leaves to the supreme and local authorities in India the settling of details. Principles must be laid down by the British Parliament. No other authority in the Empire is competent to do this. But the working out of details must be left to the Indian authorities: the knowledge to intelligently and wisely discuss and decide on the actual working-out of a scheme is to be found only in India, and the task must be done there. The Government Bill ignores this consideration and—pitiful as are the changes proposed—Lord Cross wishes to do everything at Westminster.

A NEW DEPARTURE.

At a recent meeting of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress an important step in an entirely new direction was taken. The step is described in a letter sent to the respective Congress Committees, through the Joint General Secretary, the Hon. Ajudhia Nath Pandit. The letter is as follows:

"Looking to the approaching session of the Indian National Congress, I am desired," writes the Secretary to the Congress Committee, "to communicate to you the following observations regarding the position of the British Committee with reference to Parliamentary action, and the need of a more organised system in seeking redress of individual Indian grievances. The difficulty does not arise as regards the national measures of reform respecting which a distinct mandate has been received from the Congress. And the Committee can, unhesitatingly, use all their efforts to promote Indian Councils reform, the separation of the Judicial and the Executive, the reduction of the Salt Tax, Abkari Reform, and the other measures included in the Congress programme. But, besides these larger questions there constantly arise grievances which primarily affect individuals or local classes, but which (like Hampden's ship money) are of the greatest public importance on account of the principles involved. As examples I am to instance the case of the Bombay Mamlatdars, as affecting the good faith of the Government; the nomination of Mr. Webb, as Presidency Magistrate at Bombay, in disregard of the just claims of Indians to appointments in the public service; and the Rajabai Tower case, as showing the need of police reform. It is evident that these grievances are too local to be dealt

with direct by the Congress itself. But, it seems important that the British Committee should take up a limited number of such cases, provided, as regards each case, they are assured, by responsible correspondents in India, that the grievance is a real one, that the case is one of public importance, that the facts alleged are correct, and that a principle accepted by the Congress is seriously involved. If a few such cases were effectively brought before Parliament an important influence would be exercised on the Administration in India, while a wholesome stimulus would be given to the interest felt by the Indian public in the work of the Congress.

"If these views meet with the approval of the Congress, this Committee would suggest that certain leading organisations in India should be recognised for the purpose of making the local enquiry, ascertaining the correct facts, and certifying the suitability of any case which it is proposed should be brought before the House of Commons. Such organisations would be found in the British Indian Association, the Indian Association, the Madras Mahajana Sabha, the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, and similar associations throughout India. Except when certified through one of these organisations the British Committee in London would not take up any cases of individual grievance. This resolution would soon become widely known in India, and individuals, or the local public, desirous of bringing forward a grievance would apply to one of the recognised Associations, which, if satisfied as to the merits of the case, would as soon as possible send it on to the Secretary of the British Committee, with a 'brief' of all the facts necessary in order to place it before Members of Parliament. Further, it would be necessary to follow up the original 'brief' by Weekly Progress Reports bringing the facts up to date. If each of the recognised Associations would appoint a small working Committee for this special duty (it might perhaps be called the 'Parliamentary Committee') such an arrangement would no doubt tend to punctual and effective despatch of business.

"The Committee are aware that in certain cases a similar procedure has already been followed, notably in that of the Bombay Mamlatdars, at the instance of the late Mr. Bradlaugh. But it seems desirable that the system should be more regularly organised. It will, of course, be understood that the British Committee must exercise their discretion as to the action, if any, to be taken by them in each particular case. But it is hoped that when a case is taken up by the Committee and their Parliamentary friends, solid results will be obtained by means of combined and well-considered action.

"As the above proposals are somewhat of a new departure, as regards the nature of the work undertaken by the Committee on behalf of the Congress, I am to suggest that, if you see no objection, this communication might be referred to the Standing Congress Committees, with a view to the scheme herein sketched out being considered at the next session of the Congress."

DARLINGTON AND BRITISH INDIA.

INTERESTING LETTER FROM MRS. PEASE NICHOL.

A special meeting of the "Four Hundred" of the Darlington Gladstonians was convened by post-card summonses, on the evening of the 25th inst., in the Mechanics' Hall, "to consider and adopt any resolution which the Four Hundred may think it desirable to submit to the National Liberal Federation." As the last-named body meets at Newcastle this year, and Mr. Gladstone is expected to be present, there was a large attendance. In the absence of the president, Mr. Dale, Mr. Hyslop Bell was called to the chair. The correspondence of the day included a circular-letter from the India Congress, presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, advocating the justice and expediency of popular support in England to the claims of the Indian people for some representative share in the government of their country; and also the following letter from Mrs. Pease Nichol:—

Huntly Lodge, Edinburgh, Aug. 21st, 1891.

Dear Mr. Bell,—Anne has read me the letter she received from you on Wednesday, and I am sure it is needless to say with what pleasure I learn from it of the move that is being made to bring before the Liberal Federation, at its forthcoming annual meeting, the subject of British India Reform, with a view of obtaining for it a place in the recognised programme of the party.

You, I know, can understand how it is that *I* feel some little gratification in the thought that Darlington is likely to take the lead in a matter pertaining to a subject to which my dear father devoted so many of the later years of his life—for, alas! several of the grievances which the British India Society of fifty years ago contended with still remain unredressed—*e.g.*, the cruel, unrighteous salt monopoly, and the land tax, which our daily papers are even now calling attention to as the cause of threatened famine in Madras.

But it is needless to dwell on this to you, who know the present state of matters affecting India so much better than I do. It is gratifying to notice the increased interest manifested in Indian questions both in Parliament and the country, and I do earnestly hope that the suggestion of the Darlington Liberal Association will be heartily supported by kindred associations throughout the country. In this way very much may be done to educate public opinion on the subject —although, do you not think that, in order to create an effective agitation on a subject which, unlike our home questions, does not *force* itself on the public mind, the formation of a separate reorganization may be found necessary, having thus one object in view?—Again heartily wishing success to your endeavours, I am, very sincerely yours, Elizabeth Pease Nichol.

J. Hyslop Bell, Esq.

After some discussion, on the motion of Mr. W. A. Spafford, M.A., seconded by Mr. Jas. Harris, treasurer of the association, and heartily supported by Mr. Theo. Fry, M.P., by Mr. Flynn, of the Irish National League, and others, the following resolution was adopted: "That this meeting of the Liberal 'Four Hundred' of Darlington re-affirms its approval of the Liberal programme as adopted at the last meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Sheffield; desires to add thereto an expression of its cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain redress of their special grievances through the good-will and help of the British people; and hopes that the elective principle will be frankly recognised and adopted in any Indian Councils Bill supported by the Liberal party."—*Darlington Times*, August 29th.

[Of course we need scarcely say that the Gladstonians possess no monopoly of intelligent sympathy with the two hundred and eighty-six millions of the Queen's subjects in Asia. Lord Lansdowne, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Northbrook—all Unionists—have quite as "frankly recognised" the sound policy of making "the bounds of freedom wider yet" in India as have the Marquis of Ripon, Lord Kimberley, and Lord Herschell. It is largely a question of time and opportunity. The present Government carried an India Councils Bill through the Lords before May, 1890, and were only prevented from getting it through the Commons also by reason of the pressure of business in the lower House.—Ed. *Darlington Times*.]

THE VITAL STATISTICS OF HINDUSTAN.

Dr. Drysdale, writing to the *Echo*, says:

The new census of India shows that the population of that empire is 285,000,000 or thirty millions more than in 1881. It is calculated that 3,000,000 of this increase is due to conquest, Upper Burma being now included for the first time, and about a similar number has, it is said, been added by the enumeration of some of the subject sex, who formerly were left out of the census on account of some dismal, sentimental, "religious" objection. It would thus appear that about one-fifth of the human race at present exist in a more or less satisfactory manner in Hindustan. I also find from a series of statistics contained in a journal named *India* that the average length of life in Hindustan is 28·5 years, against 39·91 in the United Kingdom. If this be true, the science of life is indeed backward in poor Hindustan. In this country we find that the richer classes have a very much lower rate of mortality than the poorer classes, and I have on several occasions alluded to the greatly superior longevity of the population of Kensington to that of Whitechapel and the poorer districts of the East-end of London. The same journal, *India*, gives the income per head of the population per annum in the United Kingdom at £42, that of France at £26, that of Italy £12, that of Russia £10, and, finally, that of Hindustan at only £2 per head per annum. If this be true, or nearly true, we need not wonder that the death-rate of Hindustan is so terribly high as compared with that of the United Kingdom. "It is often said that the Indians are the poorest people on the face of the earth among so-called civilized nations" says the writer in *India*. As to the details of this terrible semi-starvation, I find it stated that the average income for each province, taking in all sources of income, is, in the whole of India, 27 rupees; in the Central Provinces, 30½ rupees: in Bombay, 30½ rupees; in Madras, 26 rupees; in Punjab, 25½ rupees; in Bengal 22½ rupees; and in the North-West Provinces, 22½ rupees. The rupee is about 1s. 5d. It appears, further, that in the three famine years of 1877, 1878, and 1879, the deaths were 4,800,000, 5,200,000, and 5,000,000; but that in their so-called "good" years, 1886, 1887, 1888, the deaths were 5,000,000, 5,500,000, and 5,100,000. Evidently chronic starvation is the lot of a very large portion of the unfortunate denizens of Hindustan.

To what must we attribute this deplorable picture of human misfortune? To bad Government? Surely not, for with all abatements, the British Government is the fairest and most scientific the world has ever known. To backwardness in the arts? Surely not, for the Hindus are ingenious and laborious. To what, then, must we look, to account for the misery of that ancient civilisation? To my mind, there is but one account to be given, and that is the enormous rapidity of increase of population in Hindstan, which at present increases about 12 per cent. in ten years. The marriage customs of the inhabitants of Hindoostan are regulated by the most absurd traditions, and hence we have a people which increases like the lower animals—instinctively and without any prudential restraint. Until our statesmen understand this we can do nothing worth mentioning for the inhabitants of Hindustan.

LIFE IN AN ENGLISH UNIVERSITY.

BY A HINDU.

I.

Many considerations induce young Indian students to visit England. First and foremost of these stand perhaps love of novelty and a desire to ameliorate their place in life by receiving a degree in some English university. Rightly or wrongly, the English universities afford a peculiar fascination for the youthful imagination. As I write these lines, I can myself recall reminiscences of a time, now years ago, when I listened with rapturous joy to a lecture, which, by the way, happened to be one on an "Irish University". I went home and wept, and through my mind's eye passed some dreamland castles of exquisite beauty which I fondly believed would constitute an English university. Some of these delusions have since melted away, while, on the other hand, some nobler and higher conceptions of life, men, and manners have stolen into my nature, so that upon reflection I now find myself to be totally changed. That this change has been entirely for the better, I shall try to show by and bye. In the meantime, I shall lay down for the entertainment—and let me hope also some benefit—of my countrymen who may be desirous of visiting England for the purposes of study or amusement, or who, not having such opportunities, may yet feel inclined to bask a little in the reflected sunshine of another man's observations, such information as I consider necessary, useful, or desirable.

There can be no doubt that the first, and perhaps the most weighty, consideration for any man desiring to visit England for the purposes of study is the somewhat prosaic question: "Is it worth while to visit England?" In order to answer this question, let us first consider the various professions for which Indians generally come to England. There can be no question but that the Bar attracts by far the greater majority. And unfortunately, there is no profession over which a more hallowed mystery is permitted to hang in the matter of useful information to Indians than the Bar. It may not be easily credited, but none the less it is a fact, that the Bar requires all the highest of human qualities, without which conspicuous success in the profession is utterly impossible. Clear thought, sharp memory, copiousness of expression, mastery over the human emotions, and, above all an intellectual kind of clairvoyance, in the best sense of the word, which reads in the faces of witnesses and judges all their internal feelings, which is, according to the best authorities, necessary for attaining success at the Bar.

If these statements are true, then it is clear that many young Indians are indeed very badly advised to risk their fortunes in a voyage to England, for when they go back—it is true they feel for a time the satisfaction of being qualified to write themselves barristers—they soon begin to see that they had acted somewhat precipitately in choosing the Bar as their profession. Reluctantly, though steadily, they gravitate to their own level, and after a time forget their losses and are reconciled to their destined station. "Many are called, but few are chosen." But the intending visitor derives little or no benefit from these. He is innocently enough attracted by the example of the few men that shine in the profession. I mention these facts by no means to deter my countrymen's ambition. And even if I did, I have no doubt but the reader will take my words for what they are worth.

Unfortunately, however, under the present state of the country ambitious Indians have no other profession equally debarred from all restrictions. It may be therefore, that many who would otherwise gladly join and be of ornament to the military, agricultural, or medical services of their country are perforce driven to the Bar of necessity. It is devoutly to be hoped that this preposterous state of things is not permanently to be foisted upon India. But in the meantime, as it is, Indians may still find it to their advantage to invest their money in commerce or other more remunerative industries than squander it over the heads of their children, who, if they do not show clear and unmistakable promise of a brilliant future at home, cannot by any efforts of their parents be metamorphosed into conspicuous excellence. Parents are greatly mistaken in believing and ever fondly cherishing an idea that their children must be as such altogether superior to the children of everybody else. Paternal love is a good thing; but it may be carried too far. At any rate, I hope that the age of old-fashioned love is gone, when we believed with the Greeks:

> "Love sees not with the eyes, but with the mind,
> And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind."

With the twentieth century before us, and the noise of the war-drum almost hushed in the silence of prosperous peace, we may advantageously take stock of our credit calmly, before we launch out into any kind of enterprise. While I write this, I recollect an amusing anecdote of a friend who once remarked to me that his greatest ambition in life has been to see himself crowned a Doctor in Laws and all his sons barristers.

Another allurement which this profession offers to an outsider is the honour and status which are supposed to be inherent in the profession, or that come with it. That this cannot be true may be shown by reasoning which requires little expatiation. For the abstract term "profession" can bring with it no honour apart from the men who constitute it. And the very fact that the bar is admitted to be an honourable profession implies and proves my previous statement, namely, that success in the Bar requires some of the highest qualities attainable in man. Again, I have upon the authority of a most eminent Indian barrister that the Indian bar in the chief centres is almost crowded to overflowing. This need not, however, deter the aspirant much, for, with Mr. Darwin's "survival of the fittest" to cheer us, we may yet hope to carve our way through the senior members peacefully only if the inert human nature, always dreading the novelty of changed appearances, would permit it. In many cases this requires patient waiting, which, it is needless to add, implies further command over capital. And except in rare cases, this is not often available. For many Indians who come to England often carry their whole fortune with them, and, although this certainly does credit to their spirit of enterprise so far, it nevertheless renders them almost destitute as soon as they have paid their hundred pounds and received their call-certificates on half-a-sheet of ordinary paper. Many tales may be recounted of the excruciating sufferings which many young barristers have to bear after their call and before they receive a brief. A friend has entrusted to me the following information derived from his personal experience, in which I have no doubt many others will recognise something common with their own. He says: "My father was a baniah or grocer-banker, and had amassed considerable competence from his trade. After I had passed through the entrance examination, a truth was revealed to me to the effect that the qualification required of a barrister was by no means exacting, and this, coupled with the desire of elevating my position in society, persuaded me to visit England. I stayed there only three years; but when I reached home I was startled to find that I had been the loser by over fifteen thousand rupees, which was in fact all my father had collected from his business for the last thirty years. Here, then, I had no money to make a start with a flourish in some larger place. I am, therefore, in this small town, and make the glorious sum of rupees two hundred a month." Is it necessary to add that my correspondent would have been wiser by staying at home and investing the money in his business, which would have been at least three times his present profits and left him the capital intact? Nay, the same money, if invested to purchase a terminable annuity, would have, if judiciously managed, brought greater return than his glorious two hundred, not to count his labour and the precariousness of his employment. Remarks may be considerably amplified did space permit it, but it is perhaps now clear that young Indians will do a great service to themselves, and perhaps as great a service to their parents and their community, if, instead of being wafted by a rose-coloured prospect supposed to be in store for them in some near future, they will take good counsel with themselves and their advisers as to their aptitudes for the profession they are thinking of entering upon, and then strive for it. It requires a Hercules to perform the labours of a Hercules, and one need not be ashamed if one is not able to perform them. Nature loves variety, and has therefore created man with diverse tastes and different capabilities. Let us all, therefore, strive for what we can do best, and this is the secret of many a genius and a commentary upon so many failures.

INDIAN REFORM.

DARLINGTON ONCE MORE TO THE FORE.

AMONG the many meetings held in the North of England on the eve of the session of the National Liberal Federation at Newcastle-on-Tyne, at the end of last month, there was no more successful meeting than that held at Darlington. Mr. Theodore Fry, M.P. for the borough, presided; he was excellently supported on the platform and faced a large and enthusiastic audience. What makes this meeting of special interest is that Indian interests had a share of the attention of the earnest Liberals assembled. Sir William Wedderburn, Bt., Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Mr. J. Hyslop Bell, were among the speakers. We give the observations of these gentlemen. A Resolution in support of the Liberal Party having been moved,

Mr. NAOROJI, who was received very cordially, and frequently cheered throughout his speech, supported the Resolution. He said he was specially obliged to the Chairman for inviting him to that platform. Nobody could have come to it with greater pleasure and even with feelings of gratitude than he did. For it was from Darlington that the first agitation for the amelioration of the poverty-stricken people of India was started, and from this place did it radiate to other parts of the country. This was more than fifty years ago, and India was ever grateful to her true friends. It was not the occasion, nor would there be time for him to enter into the question of India's wants and claims. But he could say without any hesitation that the interests of India were the interests of the British Empire. India formed five-sixths of the British Empire and both must rise or fall together. On the other hand, every British question here was of interest to India. Every progress here in the condition of the people would have its reflex action upon the Indian people. India's prosperity was the prosperity of the British Empire. India's poverty or dissatisfaction was a weakness to the British Empire, compared with which weakness, even that arising from Irish discontent was but as nothing. On the present occasion of these district meetings in connection with the National Liberal Federation demonstration at Newcastle, Irish Home Rule was in the forefront, and he did not wish to put it backward. In fact, as he had already said, any progress in the strength and the principles of justice of the Empire was as much gain to India as to the whole imperial body-politic. The two previous speakers, one an Englishman and the other an Irishman, had already spoken much on the subject. He would, however, venture to claim that an Englishman could speak on the subject from the head, as a result of reasoning, but he (Mr. Naoroji) could, only, next to the Irishman, speak from his heart also. He could enter into the feelings of the Irishman, as, unfortunately, he and his countrymen had much similar experiences. They could realise where the Irish shoe must be pinching. Notwithstanding all that the previous speakers had said, especially Dr. Houston (the Irish gentleman), he would yield to the temptation of saying a few words on this important question. The Irish Home Rule question was one of common sense on the one hand and of highest statemanship on the other. He could not understand that a house divided against itself could ever be strong, united, and happy. Much less could an Empire be strong, united, and happy, if divided against itself. This was common sense, and he could never understand how any person in his senses could ever expect to attach a spirited people to the Empire by the twenty years of resolute government of Lord Salisbury. He could never understand nor have ever learnt that persecution or tyranny were the means of bringing about conciliation. Brute force might make an empire, but it could never preserve one. Moral forces of justice and generosity could alone strengthen and maintain empires. This, then, was the highest statesmanship, when Mr. Gladstone undertook this glorious task of doing justice to a people, and reconcile them to a hearty attachment to the Empire. It remained for them—the electors of Great Britain—to help in this great cause, which Mr. Gladstone, at his advanced age, had taken up. It was the height of infatuation to expect that a people who had struggled against all odds, and against the whole British power for seven hundred years to obtain their rights should now break down under twenty years of resolute Government, and that they would do so even after winning over the greatest political party in the empire to their side. (Applause.) One word for their own social questions—which must be faced, and that soon —whether in this, the richest country in the world, every man, woman, and child should live as a human being, or any portion should live as beasts of burden, and starve and suffer? The solution of these questions here, were of as much, if not of greater, importance to and in India. No one could acknowledge with greater gratitude and pleasure the benefits of British rule in India; but they have arisen more from the spirit of the British instincts for freedom and justice than from the system or conduct of the British Indian Administration. Had it not been for the check from this British spirit, the Administration would have degenerated into an oriental despotic government, aggravated manifold by the usual evils of foreign domination. Whatever moral good has been effected, the British Indian Administration had been a failure in the material condition of India. Some fundamental reforms were absolutely needed; and until the Indians themselves were allowed their own representation or voice to a reasonable extent, both in the Indian Legislative Councils and in the Imperial Parliament, and were thus enabled to plead from their own Indian point of view, English statesmen would hardly ever be able to see their way to the right solution of the Indian problems and the necessary reforms in the British Indian Administration. He appealed to them, when the great question of Irish Home Rule was settled to remember the Indian question. For the Indian question, as he had already said, was the question of the whole Empire, as well as of India—he would rather say of all humanity. From India would radiate the light of freedom and justice to all Asia. Commercially even, the more India was prosperous the greater the benefits to England. Remember, under a just and beneficient rule the interests of England and India were perfectly identical. (Loud applause.)

Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, heartily received, then moved the next resolution, as follows: "That this meeting expresses its approval of the Liberal programme—(cheers)—and trusts that the next Parliament will be able to carry out such much-needed reforms as the simplification of the land laws—(hear)—the improvement of the social condition of the people—(cheers)—one man one vote—(loud cheers)—and the reform of the House of Lords." (Renewed cheers and cries of "Abolish it.") After touching upon the various points contained in the resolution, Sir William said that he would ask the meeting to allow him to say a few words in support of his friend Mr. Naoroji's appeal on behalf of India. As had been said by Mr. Naoroji, Darlington was honorably distinguished for its attitude towards Indian questions, but it appeared that India had a special claim upon a meeting of Darlington working-men, and he (Sir William) would ask permission to recall to the minds of the working men among the audience an express promise and pledge given on their behalf. The incident to which he referred occurred more than fifty years ago, and was related in the interesting book recently published by his friend, Mr. Hyslop Bell—(cheers)—whom he was glad to see that evening on the platform. When negro emancipation had been accomplished, Joseph Pease, of Feethams, and the venerable Thomas Clarkson set themselves to another great task for suffering humanity, and took for their motto, "Justice to India." (Applause.) In furtherance of this object they held many successful meetings in London and elsewhere. But in his own native town of Darlington Mr. Pease met with an altogether unexpected rebuff. The incident took place in 1840, and this was how it occurred. In 1832 the franchise had been given to the £10 voters. But the vote was now demanded for the working classes, as a leading point in the People's Charter. And this demand was enforced on all public occasions by great bodies of working-men. (Applause.) Accordingly at Mr. Pease's meeting, when the Chief Bailiff of Darlington was proposed as Chairman, an amendment was moved, and Mr. Nicholas Bragg, a well-known Chartist operative, was called to the chair. And when Mr. Pease set forth the wrongs of India, and moved his usual resolution for a petition to Parliament, the meeting heard him patiently, and admitted the humanity and reasonableness of his proposal, but rejected his motion on the ground that they objected to petition a House of Commons in which they were not represented. But this refusal was accompanied by a promise to India on behalf of the working men. (Applause.) These were the words of the Chairman, as reported in the *Durham Chronicle*: "Once the working men of England were fairly represented in Parliament *they* would make short work of injustice in India—(cheers)—and in every other part of the Empire." This was the pledge, and the conditions were now fulfilled. They, the working men of England, now had the vote, and he (Sir William) asked them to "make short work of injustice in India." (Hear, hear.) It was a striking thing to see how accurately Mr. Joseph Pease understood the Indian situation. He had come to three main conclusions. The first was that on account of misgovernment the population of India could not earn their living, and he pointed to the countless deaths from famine. He held that if properly governed India should be a garden. His second conclusion was that England was bound to govern India for the good of the people of India. And his third conclusion was that the only hope of justice to India was through an appeal to the conscience of the constituencies. These conclusions had been confirmed by all subsequent experience. And the administration of India would never be carried on for the benefit of the people of India as long as educated, loyal, intelligent Indians, men like Mr. Naoroji, whom they had heard that evening, had no voice whatever in the management of their own affairs. He (the speaker) therefore appealed to the working men of England to insist that justice to India should be included in the recognized duty of the British party of reform. (Applause.)

In response to loud cries from the audience,

Mr. J. HYSLOP BELL was next called upon, and was received with loud cheers. In the course of his remarks on the resolution before the meeting, Mr. Bell adverted to the position and character of the learned gentleman (Mr. Naoroji) who had a

few minutes previously left for Newcastle, and to the strange spectacle presented by his candidature for a seat in the House of Commons. One native-born subject of the Queen, only asking to be the mouthpiece of two hundred millions of his fellow subjects, for the one modest request, that the representative element might be introduced into the constitution of the existing Legislative Council! (Hear, hear.) At the period to which Sir William Wedderburn had referred, not less, but much more, was demanded by the early India Reformers. Sir Charles Forbes, Conservative as he was, availed himself of the open court of the East India House, to demand full, free, and open discussion of Indian grievances. Daniel O'Connell used to declare that the principles of justice and freedom knew no change in different degrees of latitude, and that the claims of humanity were as strong within his breast in behalf of justice to India as in the demand for justice to his dearly beloved Ireland. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Bell) was not surprised at the ready, cordial, and enthusiastic response with which that great meeting had met Sir William Wedderburn's question. The time was long overpast when the public opinion of England should have been appealed to for a verdict as to the extent and degree to which the Government of India, as settled by Parliament after the memorable crisis of 1857, should be further liberalised—and that in the interests of the Empire. (Hear, hear.) There had been a constant succession of Anglo-Indian statesmen during the last fifty years, whose utterances, on this most important of all the problems of the British Crown, all went to show that the wants of the Indian people were not sufficiently made known, and that we relied too exclusively upon the military arm. Brief as had been the interval allowed to the Liberal Associations of England and Wales in which to formulate suggestions for the Liberal Federation at Newcastle, no fewer than thirty-seven Associations had declared that it was the duty of the Federation to publicly announce their sympathy with the claims of the Indian Congress, of which Sir W. Wedderburn was President. (Cheers.) He asked that great meeting to say that such also was their opinion. (Loud cheers.) There could be only one interpretation put upon that answer. (Cheers and laughter.) The unenfranchised masses of fifty years ago owed duties to their children, which had been discharged. The enfranchised masses of to-day only needed to be fully informed, and their mandate would be given for that true conservatism which remedied every recognised wrong, redressed every known injustice, and gave a fair hearing in the open court of Parliament for every tribe and nation within the widespread domains of the Empire. (Cheers.)

The MEMBER FOR DARLINGTON subsequently expressed his entire sympathy with the views expressed by the speakers who had alluded to the necessity for Indian Reform.

Mr. HENRY BROADHURST, M.P., in a rousing speech, supported the general programme of the Liberal party, and indicated his belief that after the Irish question was settled there would be a rapid recovery of the legislative arrears of Parliament, which had become a scandal to the country and to the State.

Hearty votes of thanks to the speakers and to the Chairman brought the interesting and protracted proceedings to a close.

IRRIGATION WORKS IN INDIA.

In point of magnitude these rank second in importance among the industrial undertakings of the Indian Government, although as specimens of disastrous financing, they take precedence even of the railways. The total nett loss over the whole system for the year is Rx. 661,629 on a capital expenditure of Rx. 30,952,796. What the aggregate deficit has been since their commencement we are not informed; but an analysis of the accounts for the single year gives them even a blacker look than the abstract presents. Some of the canals, etc., do not pay working expenses; others yield a surplus insufficient to pay interest on capital at the moderate rate of four per cent.; and some, more fortunate, actually do yield a clear profit to Government. The whole may be thus tabulated:

15 "Major" works yield clear profit		Rx. 525,035
31 ,, ,, show nett loss,	Rx. 490,926	
87 "Minor" ,, show balance of total loss over total gain	695,738	
		1,186,664
Balance of loss as per official accounts,		Rx. 661,629

Here, as in the similar case of railway deficit, the plausible fallacy is ready—that, while remunerativeness is a very desirable thing, it must be subordinated to the priceless advantage of getting good crops from ground which, if wholly dependent upon rainfall, would be a desert; and a very comforting theory it is for an extravagant or incompetent official department to take refuge in. But the same theory would, with equal force, apply to a farm on the sandy sea-shore, or to the top of Ben Nevis; and the short and the long of the matter is that to the extent of Rx. 1,186,654 (not 661,629) the inhabitants of India generally are taxed, either to subsidise the farmers in those localities, to salary their overseers, or to pay their rents.

Whether or not the Government irrigation works are, on the whole, the blessing they are represented to be is a question somewhat doubtful, as complaints are sometimes made of farmers who had good wells of their own digging, being compelled to pay for canal water whether they used it or not. As no official explanations are published, the public can only guess at the reason why the irrigation business is so disastrous, and why, in the face of such experience, good money is still being thrown after bad; but the history of one or two of the concerns, as told in the 1871 Parliamentary Report, suggests a good and sufficient reason. A company was formed and received a Government guarantee of a fixed minimum dividend; the capital was all expended before the work was in a state to yield anything, further capital being then raised on the same principle, after some official hesitation; still there was no outcome, and Government kindly refunded the shareholders all the money they had advanced, and proceeded on their own account to plunge deeper and deeper. The revenue from the whole of the Madras works for the year is Rx. 24,592, collected at a cost of Rx. 108,720!

The most of the irrigation works, in short, are in even a deeper slough than the railways, and the Government might at once abandon them, cease collecting water rates, write off their cost as a bad debt, and be a gainer by so doing. Yet when the indebtedness of India is called attention to by any anxious M.P. these bankrupt public works, although hanging like millstones upon India's neck, are audaciously flaunted as valuable assets sufficient to allay all anxiety.

The fault of the irrigation works is the same, and their treatment should be the same, as I have recommended for the railways.

Robert Brown, *of Glasgow, on "Indian Finance."*

A LESSON TO ENGLISH POLITICAL AND SOCIAL WORKERS FROM THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The Rev. J. Fletcher, of Commercial Road, London, writing in the *General Baptist Magazine* for September, of which he is the editor, pays a high compliment to the Subjects Committee of the Congress. He writes:

The report of the Sixth Congress of the above name is to hand. The meetings were held at Calcutta in December, 1890. There were 681 delegates, four of them being ladies. Hindus formed the great bulk of the representatives, and Muhammadans came next. Vakils and Pleaders numbered most, Zemindars came next, and graduates third. Honorary magistrates numbered seventy-four, and merchants sixty-two. The one radical reform sought by these representatives of all classes, from all parts of India, is the introduction of a genuine, elected representative, element into the government of India. In other words, the educated and thinking people of India claim to have grown out of childhood, and they desire to have some recognition of their manhood. The modesty, the forbearance, the good temper, and the perfect loyalty they display in presenting this claim, ought to win for them a most respectful hearing. It will win for them such a hearing, for their claim is perfectly reasonable, and it is made in a thoroughly constitutional way. We cannot keep India in swaddling-bands for ever, and the sooner we recognize that, the better it will be for us. We are a free people. We love freedom, and we cannot with any consistency repress in others the longings we have ourselves felt. Let us hope when a meeting of the Congress is held in England next year, and when English newspapers contain reports of how these men speak, how they reason, and what they ask, that the heart of England will be moved to show them all sympathy and help. In their endeavour to secure unanimity, these Indian delegates can teach us something. They appoint a "Subjects Committee," and through that committee they get at the feelings and views of every circle they count. They then bring up and embody in some resolution those views which are most widely felt, and they keep back until a more favourable time the views which are unripe. In that way they secure a unanimity in council which greatly strengthens the cause they have at heart. If, in proportion to the millions of India, they be not strong, in this they are exceeding wise.

The Dundee Liberal Association and India. — Mr. Walter Baxter, hon. sec. of the Dundee Liberal Association, writing on the 18th September to the Secretary of the Congress Committee, says: "Your circular letter of date 13th August, was submitted by me to the Executive Council of this Association at their meeting on the 16th inst., and I was desired to state in reply that this Association is in full accord with the objects of the Congress, and would heartily support its efforts to attain these objects so far as possible. All that can be done, however, is through the medium of the local parliamentary representatives, and you can rely on the votes of Messrs. Robertson and Leng." The Scottish Liberal Associations are not affiliated with the National Liberal Federation, having a central organisation of their own. Hence the remark made by Mr. Baxter as to "all that can be done". That "all" is most excellent: indeed, it is everything.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"INDIAN EXPORT AND FAMINE PRICES."

To the Editor of "INDIA."

DEAR SIR,—In an article headed as above in your issue of August 28th are some quotations from the *Pioneer*, wherein the correspondents advocate the introduction of export duties on corn, seems to me singularly illustrative of the short-sighted manner in which people are apt to overlook causes and attempt to remedy effects. Surely taxation of exports is not the wisest solution of the difficulty, for will not the loss of trade consequent on increased duties affect the capitalist, the landlord, and the usurer, and will not the direct result be that they will try to recoup themselves by refusing to pay the present rate of wages, and attempting to reduce still further the miserable pittance they allow to the unhappy toilers, who will thus, then as now, be unable to pay the price of grain? The bread-riots of the French Revolution were caused, not by the scarcity of grain, but by the scarcity of means wherewith to purchase it. Is not the remedy in India, as here, to make it possible to procure land for the *use of the* PEOPLE?

In England experience has proved that where a man can obtain as much land as he can work thoroughly so as to extract from the soil its full capacity of production, and where, in consequence of being better fed, he is able to give a man's full and entire power of labour to the soil, the land will produce more than the man can consume, will support him adequately, leaving a margin for barter, and will save the Government the cost of providing for him in hard times.

Such a man will only sell the surplus produce; it is your landlord, financier, usurer, who makes a commerce of the necessaries of life, whilst starving the toilers who fill his coffers.

I know nothing of Indian Economy, but it is self-evident that the present drain cannot possibly go on for ever. It is like killing the goose with the golden eggs. The cost of administration will have to be reduced, and subsistence secured to the people.

Is it not feasible, there, as here, to work out a scheme of popular representation, re-adjustment of taxation, fair and equitable rents, and security of tenure?

Of course the cry is immediately raised, Whence shall we draw the money for defraying the expenses of government? But, remember, half-nourished labour is far less remunerative to the community at large; and consider the enormous cost of providing for the starving millions in India, even with our miserable attempts at dealing with the constantly recurring famines; the cost of suppressing crime and supporting criminals, created by the exigencies of the people; and our cruelly wasteful methods of taxation and local government in India; and see if social and administrative reforms would not act more beneficially than increased taxation in the form of a protective tariff.

I am not so silly as to pretend that the reforms alluded to are already in force in England; but, at least, our leading statesmen are earnestly and seriously considering how they can best and soonest be introduced; and when we are asked to examine into the condition of our Indian fellow-subjects the least we can do is to give equally earnest and serious attention to the elucidation of a true and thorough remedy, and not to waste our time discussing a system that was years ago abandoned by us as an utter failure.

I remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
AGNES BRIGHT.

CLYDE AND STRATHNAIRN.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—The small volume recently published under the above title deserves the attention of all who are interested in the safety of our Indian Empire; and there is scarcely a family in the United Kingdom whose happiness or whose very means of existence would not be affected, were a catastrophe to occur of the nature of the events narrated in Sir Owen Burne's book.

The changes wrought in the Indian army since the Mutinies of 1857-58, and the facilities of communications which now exist have dispelled public anxiety as to any fresh mutiny endangering the peace of our great dependency; but danger threatens from another quarter. Disaffection, created by oppressive financial burdens, and interference with religious customs, is said to be spreading among populations who stood aloof from the rebellion of 1857-58; and the measures adopted for meeting this evil do not seem to be of a nature to assuage the feeling of discontent. The Government may no doubt rely, for the maintenance of order, on the costly Indian army, as it now stands; but how would it be if complications in Europe or in China or elsewhere necessitated the withdrawal of any considerable portion of the British regiments now stationed in India?

Sir Owen Burne reminds us that, in 1857-58, "Bengal, with the exception of the Behar districts, remained loyal; in Madras, matters were comparatively quiet; in Bombay local risings only took place; and the Punjab was for the most part tranquil during the progress of the rebellion. The chiefs of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala, and other Sikh States provided guards for European refugees, and materially assisted us in the siege of Delhi; while the Amir of Afghanistan, when urged by his advisers to invade India, declared that he would remain faithful to his alliance". Notwithstanding these favorable conditions, "British supremacy, till the capture of Delhi, was trembling in the balance." The struggle lasted two years and cost thousands of lives in battle, and many thousands more from privation, exposure, and exhaustion, and in the massacres of English men, women, and children, which took place in Delhi, Cawnpore, and other places. These harrowing incidents are referred to in the book, where necessary for affording a just idea of the services rendered by the two distinguished military leaders whose names form its title; the following are among the few particulars given: "The first spectacle that met the eyes of the storming party in Delhi was the dead body of a European chained to a stake at which he had apparently been roasted; and an Englishwoman, naked, and covered with sores, was chained to the bastion, gibbering and shrieking, a hopeless maniac."

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
7th October. CIVIS.

AN INDIAN ASSOCIATION IN EDINBURGH.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—We beg to bring to your notice that an Association of Indian Students in Edinburgh has been formed, with the object of giving all possible assistance to Indian students who come over to this country for the purposes of study. Of late we have had many instances of Indian students who arrived here and were put to a great amount of unnecessary trouble and expense, simply because they had no friends here to give them the necessary information regarding their study, and to receive and assist them in finding out suitable lodgings, etc., on their arrival. Our Association has been formed to supply this long felt want in Edinburgh.

We undertake to supply students in India, who mean to come over here for study, with all necessary information regarding the bye-laws of the University and College examinations, and also an approximate estimate of expenses, which they will have to incur during their stay here. On receiving timely intimation, one of the members of the Association will meet the new comer at the railway station, and assist him in finding suitable lodgings, and render such other personal assistance that he may stand in need of. The new-comer must defray all his own expenses.

The Association will not charge the new comer for any assistance rendered to him, but only express a wish that those who have received the benefits of the Association will do what lies in their power to render the working of the Association more effective and its existence more secure. The Association has not been started for any money-making purpose, as is evident from the fact that we not only derive no pecuniary gain, but have to spend something out of the Association funds, which are raised by subscriptions among the members, for the proper working of the Association. The sole object of our Association is to be of some help to our fellow countrymen, who, like us, come here for study, and also to create an *esprit de corps* among the Indian students here, which, unfortunately at the present time, is sadly wanting.

We sincerely trust that our fellow students in India will appreciate the objects of our Association, and give us all possible assistance in carrying them out successfully.

We beg to remain,
Your obedient Servants,

Managing Committee.
PURNA NANDA CHATTERJI (Calcutta).
M. AYATULLA (N. W. Provinces).
RUP KISHORE TANDAN (Punjab).
MIRZA KAREEM KHAN (Hyderabad).
M. GOVINDA RAJALU NAIDU (Madras).

T. MADAVAN NAIR,
Hon. Secretary.

University Union, Edinburgh.

LAND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS IN CHITTAGONG, BENGAL.

To the Editor of "INDIA."

SIR,—In *India* of March last you published a correspondence on the subject of Settlement in the district of Gurgaon, in the Panjab, which resulted in ruin and desolation of poor ryots (tenants), and which was condemned by the public as well as by the authorities as an instance of deliberate over-enhancement of rent. We beg now to draw the attention of the authorities responsible for the better administration of India, as well as of the British public, who alone are the guardians of protection and champions of freedom, to another case of excessive and oppressive rack-renting that is at present being enforced—we refer to the present Survey and Settlement proceedings in the district of Chittagong, in the province of Bengal, in India. From the experience of the past we can unreservedly assure your readers that, unless reconciliatory measures are adopted, the present indifference of the authorities towards the well-being of the poor and loyal subjects of the British Government is sure to lead to very lamentable results.

Before entering into the details of the present Survey and Settlement proceedings, it is necessary to give a short sketch of their origin. Some time during the first quarter of the present century the revenue authorities in Chittagong took into their heads to see if anyhow the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis could be assailed and shaken as far as the district of Chittagong was concerned. And after a long deliberation, the details of which are avoided for brevity's sake, a general Survey of the district was made in 1842 by Mr. Harvey. In describing the principle underlying this survey Mr. Cotton, present Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in his Revenue History of Chittagong, says: "Mr. Harvey's policy of extorting the full pound of flesh led to an outbreak at Auwara." This outbreak resulted very seriously and several persons fell dead and many were sent to jail, after the outbreak. Ultimately in this Survey the local authorities found that within the boundaries of estates specified in the Permanent Settlement, the actual areas were larger than the areas shown in the Settlement. The question then arose whether the boundary or the area shall be taken as the basis of the Settlement. Zemindars (landlords), contended that when the Settlement proceedings contained distinct mention of boundaries no land within those boundaries can again be assessed. But this contention was rejected by the authorities, and the lands said to have been found in the excess of specified areas, but from within the specified boundaries, were parcelled out of the old permanently settled estates, and were separately assessed as Government property (*i.e.*, estates of which Government is the landlord), under the designation of *Noabad Talüks* by Sir Henry Ricketts in 1848. Thus ends the original history of the Noabad lands of Chittagong; and under the pretence of holding enquiries as to these Noabad lands, the whole district had been subjected to several surveys. At present a general survey of the entire district is in progress under the operations of which even the Permanently Settled Estates and the rent free-holdings are included. Perhaps very few of your readers will understand what a "survey" really means. It means ruin and beggary to poor ryots by various direct and indirect ways which may not always be known even to Indian authorities. It will thus be evident that the entire system of original administration in Chittagong has been subverted. Against this sort of subversion, Mr. Cotton in his "New India" writes: "Resettlements and Survey, with their symbols of oppression the measuring rod and compass; the irritation of invariable enhancement, and of incessant local enquiries for lands under-assessed, however small; the realisation of Government demands by summary process and the unbending severity of the sale, warrant, and certificate procedures: all these are measures now resorted to with greater frequency than formerly, with harshness and more persistence. The ryots cry aloud for bread, and we have given them a volume of new laws to comfort them."

3. It is impossible for anyone to deny the importance of a correct Survey and a correct Record of Rights. We do not intend to speak anything against the Survey authorities. We, on the contrary, agree with them as long as the present Survey and connected papers are correct—as long as their steps are calculated to remedy the evils. But it is feared that the present Survey proceedings are calculated to create graver confusions than at present, instead of rectifying any error. It is the established principle of all Indian enactments on Survey and Settlement, as well as the finding in many rulings of high judicial courts, that old sites of previous Survey plots are to be recognized in subsequent Survey proceedings, and that it is illegal to disregard them. But will the authorities in India and the public in England believe it if it is told that Survey of 1842 made by Mr. Harvey is not at all being recognised in the present Survey? This is naturally leading to the result that lands belonging to certain permanently settled estates, and occupied as such since the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, are being transferred to some Noabad Taluks (tenures under Government estates under direct management) and *vice versa*. Again, lands appertaining to some rent-free holdings are being interchanged with assessed lands. It is feared such proceedings have not the sanction of any law. In our humble opinion Survey and Settlement officers can under no law force a zemindar or talukdar to accept lands for his estate or taluk (tenure) which did not originally belong to it. Every man with some pretence to reason can easily foresee that Government will unavoidably drift into endless litigation with its own subjects. Every zemindar, talukdar and ryot will be driven to the law courts for the protection of their rights and interests. And the inevitable disasters of the ryots can be known to Heaven alone. So, instead of rectifying any error, the present Survey will render the confusion worse confounded.

4. We are therefore of opinion that for the interest of both the Government and the people of Chittagong, Government should direct the Survey officers to recognise the sites and boundaries of old Survey plots, and to put a stop to the interchange of lands from one estate to another.

5. Then comes the question of Settlement, which is indeed of grave importance both for the Government and its own subjects in the unhappy district of Chittagong. The ever shifting attitude of the Settlement policy followed in Chittagong has caused desolation and ruin to many a wealthy family in the district. A reference to Annual Land Revenue Administration Reports published every year under the authority of the Bengal Board of Revenue, will clearly prove that thousands of Noabad Taluks have been made *khas* (resumed) during Mr. Manson's *régime* alone. What was the cause of such a disastrous result? The reply is simple and clear. The rack-renting policy adopted by the Settlement authorities in Chittagong enhanced the rents of Government estates from Rs. 1,21,732 in 1875–76 to Rs. 3,85,290 in 1888–89. This increase of rents the talukdars (tenure holders) were unable to bear. They became defaulters, and their taluks being sold for arrears of revenue were all purchased by Government. To the Government that was the zemindar in the Government estates also occupied the subordinate position of the talukdars over the cultivators; and the intermediate position of the talukdars is thus annihilated by a simple and imperceptible policy, requiring no legislation from the Council Chamber of the Viceroy, no firing of artillery from the bold ramparts of Fort William.

6. To an English mind, as the people in England breathe in the atmosphere of freedom, this may appear something like a fiction. But we shall presently show that sometimes actual realities of life are stranger even than fictions. To prove the statements made in the preceding paragraph, we shall cite authorities from the official records. The Annual Land Revenue Administration Reports, published every year by the Bengal Board of Revenue, will show how the annual current demands in the Government estates in Chittagong have steadily risen during the period of thirteen years (from 1875-6 to 1888-89). The following figures are quoted from the Board's Annual Reports:

Year.		Annual Current Demand. Rs.	Year.		Annual Current Demand. Rs.
1875-76	..	1,21,732	1884-85	..	3,56,490
1880-81	..	2,47,826	1885-86	..	3,60,244
1881-82	..	2,57,766	1886-87	..	3,65,499
1882-83	..	2,79,026	1887-88	..	3,72,983
1883-84	..	2,88,576	1888-89	..	3,85,290

Now it is left to your readers to judge what may be the condition of the ryots under such a rack-renting policy adopted in the estates in which the Government itself is the landlord.

7. To prove by what method such enhancements have been secured, we shall not bring any argument of our own, but shall simply present to your readers the facts and figures from official records.

8. The following extract is taken from page 13 of the Annual Land Revenue Administration Report of 1875-76, submitted by the Bengal Board of Revenue to the Government of Bengal:

(*Extract from the Commissioner's Report.*)—"By these measures followed by a settlement of the island (Kutubdia) after five years, the Collector expects that Government will more than treble its present estimated revenue of Rs. 13,000, and more than double the rent roll in the best days of the island."

9. Again, para. 54 in page 16 of the Board's Annual Report for 1876-77 contains the following: "Forty-six settlements of lands previously unassessed and twenty-seven resettlements of *Taluks*, covering an area of 590 acres, 1 rood, 17 poles, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ yards, were effected during the year in a yearly revenue of Rs. 1,397-7-7 against the former demand of Rs. 111-8-11, bringing an additional revenue of Rs. 1,285-14-8.

10. In page 18 the report says (extract from the Commissioner's report): "From the experience gained during the last two years' operations, Mr. Newbery is led to believe that the estimate of the eventual increase of six and a half lakhs over present revenue made by Mr. Kirkwood must be an exaggeration." . . . . "The number of settlements made last year cannot but be regarded as small. It is to be hoped that the present year's operation will show a much better outturn."

11. The above extract will clearly show even to an ordinary observer how sometimes Government is drifted in grave blunders by

shrewd and inducing representations of local officers. Government estates in Chittagong yielded originally an annual income of Rs. 1,21,732, and Mr. Kirkwood, late collector of Chittagong, promised an increase of Rs. 6,50,000 in the annual revenue. The inducement was great, and Government was too weak to resist such a temptation. It was, however, subsequently found that the actual increase of revenue obtained by ordinary methods of settlements was too insufficient to compensate the heavy expense incurred by the Government. But the increase must be obtained anyhow; and the total revenue of government estates was raised to Rs. 3,85,290, but not without reducing some thousands of Talukdars to simple beggary.

12. Further on, para. 103 in page 19 of the Board's Annual Report for 1881-82 contains: "The work (of settlement) done during the year comprised the completion of the Jamabandi records and the conclusion of 3,109 settlements at a rent of Rs. 61,333, giving an increase of Rs. 39,665."

13. Then again, referring to the increase of rents, the Board of Revenue writes in para. 8, page 2, of the Annual Report for 1882-83: "Settlement of alluvial lands in Backerginj by the Superintendent of Dearah Survey and of Noabad lands in Chittagong have produced the same result (increase of rents) in these districts."

14. In explaining the increase of rent in 1884-85 the Board in page 2, para. 7, of the Annual Report write: "The increase in the Twenty-four Parganahs is due to the addition of Port Canning Estate to the revenue roll; in Puhna, Noakhali, Dacca, Bockergunj, Tipperah, Maimansing, and Chittagong to settlement and resettlements." Then, again, in para. 2 of the same report the Board have explained the increase in the number of Government estates by saying "while in Chittagong 237 parcels of resumed lands hitherto shown under Class II. (Temporarily Settled Estates) have now been incorporated with the Khas Tahsil Circles, and thus treated as part of Government estates of that district."

15. The very next year (1885-86), in explaining the increase in the number of Government estates the Board report (para. 2, page 1)—"Government estates show an increase due to the purchase of estates on failure of bidders at sales for arrears of revenue, to escheats, and to settlement of waste lands reclaimed." In explaining, in the same year, the increase of rent the Board's report (para. 19, page 3) contains: "The Chittagong remissions are due to double assessment and supersession of obsolete holdings on the rent-roll by new settlements." Again in para. 109, page 18, of the same report, in explaining the cause of increase in the demands of Government estates, the Board write, "The Divisions showing the heaviest increase during the year of report were Dacca and Chittagong (Rs. 10,995)."

16. In the Board's Annual Report for 1885-86 (para. 114, page 19) the increase of rents is explained in the following language: "The recent Settlement operations, necessary as they have been, have undoubtedly caused much general discontent and perhaps some hardships to individuals, while one result of them has been to burden the local officers with very onerous duties in the Khas Tahsil Department. The resettlement of nearly 5,000 taluks would add greatly to this burden, and would tend to revive the spirit of opposition and dissatisfaction which is now, it is hoped, dying away. . . . And it seems desirable that the district should in the meantime have an interval of rest." . . . The order passed by Government, therefore, is that these 4,913 taluks shall be resettled with the first of those to which the proclamation issued by Sir Henry Ricketts in 1848, as modified by Government orders of 1866, implies, that is to say 1892. This shows clearly that even the Board of revenue were obliged to admit the discontent and dissatisfaction of the people of Chittagong caused by the rack-renting policy of the local Settlement authorities.

17. Regarding the increase in the number of Government estates in this year the Board report in para. 5 of the same Report: "In Government estates the increase is caused by addition of new estates to the revenue roll and by resettlements." Again, para. 75, page 14, contains: "But they (Board of Revenue) could not regard without some apprehension the steady increase in the number of nonsaleable holdings from which collections are made direct."

18. The last extract that I wish to present to your readers is from para. 6, page 2, of the Board's Annual Report for 1886-87, which is as follows: "In Class III (Government Estates) the increases are due to settlements and resettlements, and to estates acquired by purchase at sales of revenue."

19. The above extracts, made from official reports, will give your readers some idea of the manner in which the Revenue Administration in India is carried on. But these are only typical instances. And thus was it that Mr. Manson, late Collector of Chittagong, received credit from the Government in one of its resolutions on an Annual Administration Report of the Chittagong Division for "the successful administration of what Sir Henry Ricketts considered to be a hopeless task."

20. While such a policy is so unhappily ruinous to the interest of the Talukdars and ryots on the one hand, it cannot be regarded as healthy to the true interest of Government on the other. We cannot do better than quote here the following extract from the preamble of Regulation VII of 1822 (A Settlement Act of India): "And whereas a moderate assessment being equally conducive to the true interest of Government and to the well-being of its subjects, it is the wish and intention of Government that in revising the existing settlement the efforts of the Revenue officers should be chiefly directed, not to any general and extensive enhancement of the gama, but to the object of equalising the public burthens, and of ascertaining, settling, and recording the rights, interests, privileges, and properties of all persons and classes owning, occupying, managing, or cultivating the land, or gathering or disposing of its products. . . . And whereas, with these views and intentions, the Governor-General in Council has considered it to be expedient and proper, with the exception hereinafter specified, to continue the existing assessment."

21. The extracts shown in the preceding paras. will clearly show that this distinct principle of the law has been repeatedly violated; and it is clear that the present enhancing policy followed by the settlement officers in Chittagong is quite against the spirit of the law, the interest of the Government, and well-being of its loyal subjects.

22. Besides, the kabuliyats (agreements) entered into by Noabad Talukdars (tenure holders in Government estates) at the time of the last general Noabad settlement, contain no such stipulation by which the Talukdars accepted the settlement for any fixed period. And the Persian words (agreements of that settlement were all in Persian) Noslan Ba'di Nasal (heriditarily) are to be found in almost all the kabuliyats (agreements). There is nothing in the kabuliyats to prove that Talukdars came to any understanding with the Government, accepting any fixed period as the term of their settlements. And if any term was fixed by means of any correspondence between the local authorities and the Government, to which Talukdars were no party, it is left to your readers to judge whether it is not an unnecessary and illegal pressure to force the Talukdars now to a term to which they or their predecessors never gave their consent in the last settlement.

23. Unless Government kindly condescends to come down to a conciliatory policy, we can assure the Indian authorities and the British public that the present proceedings will surely bring ruin on thousands of Noabad Talukdars. In our humble opinion it will be extremely wise for the Government to conclude the settlement on the existing rate, and on a permanent basis, and thus avoid all future complications and troubles. The unhappy people of Chittagong now appeal to the sympathy and sense of humanity of the British public to help them in so critical a situation.

AN AGGRIEVED RYOT OF CHITTAGONG.

BABOOS.

To the Editor of "India."

Sir,—There is a grave mistake amongst a section of the Bengalis in respect of the use and import of the word Baboo.

It is true that Anglo-Indians—no particular friends of the Bengalis in general and Baboos in particular—use the word in a way which in some cases convey an idea of derision or slight. And then the writings that appear in public papers about the Baboo, who is described as an animal of great mischievousness, and the deliberate mistake made in distinguishing a Baboo from a Baboon make it somewhat irritating as an appellation. But it is forgotten that even if the Baboo were to be changed to Mr. it depends upon the will of the Anglo-Indians to pronounce it in such a way, or make use of it in such a manner as to render it as objectionable as the Baboo. There is nothing bad in the word itself. It means, I suppose, the son of a respected man. It is therefore plain that such a word has been rendered objectionable by the manner of using it.

There was a time when the words Anglo-India and Anglo-Indians were known as synonymous with such ideas as meanness of spirit, unreasonable dislike of natives of India, an assumption of aristocratic manners and *zooloom*. But the Anglo-Indians took the hint, and instead of avoiding the word put it forward in all manner of ways, showing that they took pride in being Anglo-Indians.

In the same way I would advise those who are averse to the word Baboo being used in reference to them, to show that they take a pride in being a Baboo. They ought to show that they are above the sneers of Anglo-Indians in this as in many other things. They will then see that the word Baboo will lose all objectionableness in a short time.

Yours truly,
A BABOO.

Midnapore, Bengal.

The Sevenoaks Division Liberal Council and India.—The following resolution (unanimously adopted by the Executive of the Sevenoaks Council) was amongst resolutions forwarded to the Committee of the National Liberal Federation: "That this Executive expresses its cordial sympathy with the efforts of our Indian fellow-subjects, through their National Committee, to secure the redress of their grievances by constitutional means; and requests the Committee of the National Liberal Federation to adopt the policy of Justice to India as a plank in the Liberal platform."

INDIAN REFORM AND THE BRITISH LIBERAL PARTY.

As will have been already noted, with regret, by Indian reformers, the National Liberal Federation, the great motive-power and driving force of the Liberal Party, has met, and Indian Reform has not been adopted as a plank in the Liberal platform. We quote a few of the Resolutions which were passed by friendly Associations—alas! that there were not more of them—and forwarded to the headquarters of the Federation. They indicate the widespread interest taken in the movement:—

CAMBRIDGESHIRE (NORTH).

Resolved, "That this meeting of the Liberal Council of North Cambridgeshire expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making, to obtain the redress of their grievances through the good will and help of the British people; and especially asks that the elective principle may be recognised in the Indian Councils Bill."

CINDERFORD (FOREST OF DEAN).

[After an address in India by Sir W. Wedderburn, President of the Cinderford Association]:—Resolved, "That this Association cordially sympathises with the people of India in their constitutional efforts to obtain the redress of their grievances through the goodwill of the British people; and is strongly of opinion that justice to India should be included as a plank in the Liberal platform."

GAINSBOROUGH.

Resolved, "That this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Gainsborough and District Liberal Club, on behalf of its 600 members, hereby unanimously requests the Committee of the National Liberal Federation to adopt justice and reform for India as one plank in the Liberal platform at the forthcoming annual meeting; and hereby expresses its most hearty sympathy with the constitutional efforts which our Indian fellow-subjects are making in order to obtain redress of their grievances."

GARTMORE, AND PORT OF MONTEITH.

Resolved, "That this Committee expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the goodwill and help of the British people, and especially asks the Committee of the Federation to adopt justice and reform for India as one plank in the Liberal platform."

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Resolved, "That this meeting expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the goodwill and help of the British people, and especially asks that the elective principle may be recognised in any Bill that may be introduced into Parliament with the object of altering the constitution of the Indian Councils. It is also of opinion that the subject of Indian reform should be included in the programme of the National Liberal Federation to be submitted to the meetings to be held in Newcastle-upon-Tyne."

NORTHAMPTON.

Resolved, "That this meeting of the members of the Northampton Liberal and Radical Association expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the goodwill and help of the British people; and especially asks that the elective principle may be recognised in the Indian Councils' Bill, now before Parliament, and urges the Council of the National Liberal Federation to include in its programme a resolution urging the claims of the Indian people through their National Congress."

STRAND (London).

Resolved, "That this Council of the Strand Liberal and Radical Association expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the good-will and help of the British people; and especially asks that the elective principle, as laid down in the Indian Councils Bill, may be recognised by Parliament."

WANDSWORTH (London).

Resolved, "That this meeting expresses its most cordial sympathy with the efforts which, by constitutional means, the Indian people are making to obtain the redress of their grievances through the goodwill and help of the British people; and asks that the matter have a place on the Liberal Federation programme."

THE INDIAN FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

SOME PREVALENT MISCONCEPTIONS CORRECTED.

The following correspondence, which we take from the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, may be useful, as placing on record—first, some prevalent misconceptions regarding this Fund, and, next, the real circumstances of the misappropriation of a "sacredly", ear-marked, Fund:—

I.

Sir,—The failure of the monsoon at the beginning of the rainy season this year threatened to plunge various parts of India into severe famine. Happily we now learn that a marked improvement in the rainfall has had the effect of saving several districts from this terror, and Madras alone was the chief source of anxiety till lately. I have read a great number of letters in the press on this distress, and have also privately received applications for relief. All this naturally turned my mind to the Famine Insurance Fund which has been established in India for the past 12 or 14 years, and to the rumours that this fund had been used for purposes other than that of granting relief. I did not base my fear on mere rumours which were current in England, but on conversations I had had with natives prior to the visit of the Duke of Clarence, then Prince Victor, to India. These facts, or rather, as they have since turned out to be, mere rumours, caused me to communicate with the Under Secretary of State for India. In reply he informed me that no subsidy had been made to any of the funds I mentioned, and he enclosed a detailed balance-sheet of the fund from its foundation to the present current year. After perusing this financial statement my mind only doubted two items provided for in the estimated Budget, 1891-92. These two items were as follow: Rx.1,432,000 for protective railways and Rx. 65,000 for irrigation works. In reply to a communication of mine last week on these two items I have received the following clear explanation. First, as regards the protective railways, Rx.1,432,000 was to be expended as follows: Interest on capital of Indian Midland and Bengal Nagpur Railways, constructed by companies under agreement with Government, Rx.457,000: capital outlay on the East Coast Railways Rx.975,000. These lines will, it is believed, materially aid the efforts of Government in mitigating the effects of any famine which may occur in the districts traversed by them, besides developing the resources of the country in years in which no such calamity occurs. Next, the sum of Rx.65,000 for irrigation was to be expended as follows: North-West Provinces, Betwa Canal, Rx.2,700; Punjaub, Sivat River Canal, Rx. 1,800; Madras, Rushikulya project, Rx.35,000 Bombay, Nira, and other animals, Rx.25,000. Beyond these two items there is nothing that calls for any explanation, and after this statement I think there is no reason to doubt that the main object of the Famine Insurance Fund has been carried out well and satisfactorily and with the sole object for which it was created.—Yours, etc.,

John T. Petrocokino.

Manchester, August 18th, 1891.

II.

Sir,—If your correspondent Mr. John T. Petrocokino cannot lay before your readers anything concerning the Indian Famine Fund of more value than appears in his letter published by you on the 19th inst., he would do well to leave that Fund alone. Mr. Petrocokino states that he wrote to the Under Secretary of State for India with respect "to the rumours that this Fund had been used for purposes other than that of granting relief". In response he received "a detailed balance-sheet of the Fund from its foundation to the present current year". After making some confused and wholly irrelevant observations on the Fund, Mr. Petrocokino says: "There is no reason to doubt that the main object of the Famine Insurance Fund has been carried out well and satisfactorily, and with the sole object for which it was created." Even official apologists have never dared to claim so much as this.

I don't know what the "balance sheet" may be to which Mr. Petrocokino alludes, but I do know that in July, 1889, a return was issued, on the motion of the late Mr. Bradlaugh, "showing the precise purposes to which provision for famine insurance has been applied in each year since the introduction of the scheme." From that return, supplemented by my own personal knowledge in one detail only, it appears:

1. A special fund, raised from additional taxation, was founded in 1877-8 (the return says 1879-80, but the return is incorrect) of Rs.150,000,000 per annum for famine relief and prevention.

2. In the first four years only Rs.1,388,990 were devoted to the purpose for which the fund was "sacredly" ear-marked. The balance of nearly Rs.60,000,000—to be exact, Rs.58,611,010—was spent in Afghan and north-western frontier wars.

3. In the five following years the receipts from the special taxation were properly expended.

4. In the three succeeding years less than half of the sum of Rs.15,000,000 per annum was rightly disposed of. The whole sum, during a portion of this period, was merged into the general revenue. One of the best speeches ever made during the Indian Budget debates was made by Mr. Bradlaugh in 1889. In this speech a vigorous protest was made against the misappropriation of the Fund. Result: in the following spring the Finance Minister, Sir D. Barbour, "restored" the Fund.

5. To the end of 1889-90 only Rs.2,852,280 had been spent in "granting relief" (Mr. P.'s main point) out of Rs.195,000,000 raised. Part of the balance went for protective railways and irrigation works, the remainder to general revenue.

6. The fund, which Mr. Petrocokino would have your readers believe has "been carried out well and satisfactorily, and with the

sole object for which it was created," as a matter of fact has thus been dealt with :

	Rs.
Total amount raised	225,000,000
Used for famine relief and famine prevention ..	130,208,370
Misappropriated	94,791,630

Here is a fund raised for a special purpose, "vowed" by those who imposed additional taxation to produce it "sacredly" to one object and one alone, misappropriated to the extent of one-third, misappropriated almost entirely according to Mr. Petrocokino's standard of "granting relief", swept into the general revenue, and "restored" owing to a vigorous attack in the House of Commons by Mr. Bradlaugh; and yet your correspondent comes forward, unasked, to tell the public that it "has been carried out well and satisfactorily, and with the sole object for which it was created." As a fact the fund has been shamefully misused.—Yours, etc.,

Wm. Digby.

Bron Wylfa, Penmaenmawr, 23rd August, 1891.

III.

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to Mr. Digby's letter in your issue of Tuesday the 25th inst. anent this fund. He lays great stress on Mr. Bradlaugh's Budget speech of 1889, but perhaps he does not know who supplied Mr. Bradlaugh with the information he made use of in that speech. I could tell Mr. Digby if I cared to; but that is not the point. He asserts that since 1877-78 to the present day the Famine Fund has been misapplied. I can answer all his arguments, and will prove now conclusively, by quoting from the return issued in July, 1889, to the House of Commons (which Mr. Digby tries to quote against me), that he is leaping in the dark. As I should require a very considerable portion of your space to put down a full statement of this fund, I will only quote the years Mr. Digby complains of, and if he requires further information he can apply to me privately, the address given in your paper being sufficient. 1. Regarding the Afghan war that is a separate charge altogether, and although Mr. Digby states this as a piece of personal knowledge, it is a well-known fact, and the Government state it thus on their balance-sheet: "Note. Owing to the military operations in Afghanistan, there was no surplus of revenue over expenditure in 1879-80 and 1880-81 which could be applied to famine insurance." 2. He says the fund was founded in 1877-78. He is wrong. The fund was founded in 1879-80, and I think, with all due deference, the India Office is better informed than your correspondent. 3. He says to the end of 1889-90 only Rs.2,852,280 had been spent in granting relief, whilst the balance went in railways, etc. I suppose Mr. Digby knows India and the country districts. If so, he will surely know that if famine is raging one year it does not follow that the next year will not be prosperous. The sum expended up to 1889-90 is Rs.2,852,780, and that was deemed sufficient to cover the want. The balance was usefully spent in railways, irrigation, etc., which form a part of the famine insurance system. What does your correspondent complain of in this? 4. Will Mr. Digby kindly state his authority for the total amount of money raised and expended by the Government, as I regret to say there appears to be a very grave error somewhere in the figures he gives?

In conclusion, I may inform Mr. Digby that I came forward not "unasked". Being appointed from India to the London Committee on Indian Social Matters, it is the bounden duty of myself and my colleagues, amongst other things, to see that all social matters connected with the Eastern Empire are rightly represented.—Yours, etc.,

John T. Petrocokino.

Manchester, August 26th, 1891.

IV.

Sir,—Allow me a few lines in which to reply to the letter from Mr. Petrocokino which appears in your issue of to-day, and I will not further trouble you.

1. Referring to the late Mr. Bradlaugh, your correspondent asks me if I know who supplied Mr. Bradlaugh with the materials for his effective speech of August, 1889. I should not have thought the matter of any public importance. But, as I am asked the question, I will answer it. Mr. Bradlaugh's "inspirer" could not have been Mr. Petrocokino, as that gentleman has yet to learn the history of the Fund himself. If he really wishes to know who "briefed" Mr. Bradlaugh on that occasion, I can tell him that I had the honour and pleasure of doing so. My intimate relations, as head of the Indian Political Agency in London, with the late Mr. Bradlaugh, are well-known.

2. As to the want of "surplus" in 1879-80 and 1880-81, let me remark two things—(1) This fund was intended to be independent of surpluses, being "ear-marked" in the most solemn manner by the Viceroy and his Finance Minister; and (2) there was a want of "surplus" in 1877-78 and 1878-79, though the authorities have not seen fit to insert the amounts and say so.

3. I am right in saying the fund was founded in 1877-78. It was in December of the first-named year and in January of 1878 that the debates in the Viceroy's Council on the imposition of the special tax took place. (I am writing far away from my papers, and cannot, therefore, give the exact dates.) As it happened, I was in Calcutta in Christmas week, 1877, and met Sir John Strachey, Finance Minister, at Government House, where he was good enough to talk over his financial proposals and to furnish me—as editor of one of the Indian daily papers—with a number of facts and arguments hitherto unknown to me. I was, I may add, a supporter of the special taxation then, and am so still, only I want to see it applied to the purposes for which it was raised.

4. In his point No. 3, after stating that the sum of Rs.2,852,780 was spent on famine relief, Mr. Petrocokino adds: "The balance was usefully spent in railways, irrigation, etc., which form a part of the famine insurance system." To this I reply that the papers in Mr. Petrocokino's hands show that in 1879-80 Rs.13,959,941 was devoted to general purposes other than famine insurance works; 1880-81, Rs.14,651,600; 1886-7, Rs.10,391,168; 1887-8, Rs.11,233,930; 1888-89, Rs.9,316,000; 1889-90, Rs.3,938,000.

5. My authority for the statements I made in my previous letter was the return (No. 231) issued in July, 1889, a copy of which I happened to have by me as I wrote. Not, however, then having Sir John Gorst's recent explanatory memorandum at hand, I find, that in giving the Government of India credit for the full appropriation of Rs.15,000,000 in 1890-91 and 1891-2 I did more than I ought to have done. On page 230 of the current number of India I find an extract from the memorandum, which shows that in 1890-91, Rs.11,062,000 only was expended, instead of Rs.15,000,000. The amount, therefore, which I gave under the heading "Misappropriated" as Rs. 94,791,630 should be increased by Rs.3,938,000 making a total misappropriation of Rs.98,729,630.

There is, sir, a great principle involved in, and a gross wrong done by, the manner in which the Indian Famine Insurance Fund has been dealt with. The Indian people feel this most keenly. This must be my apology for twice taking up space in your columns, though, indeed, in the early part of this year you gave me an opportunity, created by a remark in one of your own leading articles, to state the facts concerning the Fund. I withdraw gladly my use of the word "unasked" in respect to Mr. Petrocokino's first letter to you. India has few friends in this country. Mr. Petrocokino is evidently one of the few. I have had no feeling in this correspondence so far as the originator of it is concerned; but as one who has been not a little associated with Indian famine work and Indian questions generally, I felt compelled to seek your courtesy in putting a misunderstood matter on an understandable basis.—Yours, etc.,

Wm. Digby.

Bron Wylfa, Penmaenmawr, August 27th.

V.

Sir,—Once again kindly grant me a little space in your columns to answer Mr. Digby's letter which appeared in your issue of August 29th. I must at once correct Mr. Digby's idea that I wished to infer that Mr. Bradlaugh's "inspirer" was myself. I had no such intention; in point of fact, at that time I was thousands of miles away in the Himalayas. The "inspirer" referred to was a certain leading lawyer in Calcutta, who was credited with posting up the late "member for India" in all matters, and as I enjoyed the acquaintance of this gentleman and discussed several topics with him I naturally knew his views on most subjects, including the Famine Fund. At that time (1889), and down to the beginning of this month, I was of opinion that the Famine Fund had been misapplied, as shown in my first letter to you; but my communications with the Secretary of State for India proved my ideas to be erroneous. As Mr. Digby states that he briefed the late Mr. Bradlaugh on the occasion of his 1889 Budget speech I accept his statement.

Mr. Digby states that he is right in saying that the fund was founded in 1877-78. Why, then, should the Government not give a statement of that year's expenditure, but begin a year later, stating that the fund was only founded then? The differences between Mr. Digby and myself arise from the figures he possesses in his papers and those in the Government returns, which I shall go carefully into, and hope to arrive at an accurate result.

Let me thank Mr. Digby for sending me the pamphlet India, which shows me that on all other subjects we are on the same side, although perhaps I should suggest educating the natives of India more at present, so that they may be better able to understand the articles in this journal, as at present they may be led in their ignorance to put a wrong interpretation on the articles. With Mr. Digby I can also state that I have had no feeling in this correspondence, my sole aim and object being to find out the real truth of the matter, so that in the end it may be beneficial to those who, like myself, have the interests of India at heart. This, sir, will be my last contribution to you on this subject, and I thank you for granting me so much of your valuable space.—Yours, etc., John T. Petrocokino.

Manchester, August 29th, 1891.

VI.

Sir,—You may recollect that in my last letter to you on the subject of this fund, I mentioned that I should go carefully into the figures quoted by the Government and those quoted by Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E. With that object I naturally turned to the foundation of the Fund, and, as Mr. Digby's letters on this subject have shown, he differed from the Government on this point;—the India Office stated in their return (1889) to the House of Commons that the Fund was begun in 1879-80, whereas Mr. Digby assured me that the Fund was founded at least two years earlier, viz. 1877-8. Viewing this difference at the outset, I again entered into communication with the India Office as to why the £3,000,000 sterling expended or ear-marked for famine relief during the years 1877-8 and 1878-9 had not been put forward in the Parliamentary return. In reply the Under Secretary of State for India informs me that over Rx. 5,000,000 had been spent in granting relief, so that there was no surplus to be applied to famine insurance for those years. Granting this to be correct, I fail to see why the Government omitted these figures from their report, unless they had some reason for doing so which they do not care to divulge. But, in addition to this, I am informed (I have no permission to quote my authority) that £10,000,000 sterling was borrowed on account of famine during the years 1877-9. Where has this enormous amount of money gone? I see no account of it either in the Government report or in their communications to me. I write this so that all those who have followed the little controversy last month between Mr. Digby and myself, will see that the Government figures from which I quoted were not correct, in that they did not account for everything. Mr. Digby was correct in his statements, and I thank him for having thus put materials into my hands which have enabled me at length to satisfy myself that the India Office has led me astray, and that the responsible Government of India have not dealt satisfactorily with the moneys which ought to have been applied to the Famine Insurance Fund. Yours, &c.,

Manchester, Sept. 24th, 1891. John T. Petrocokino.

HUTCHINSON & Co.

Merchants, Bankers, and Agents.

25, CRAVEN ST., CHARING CROSS, LONDON.

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